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The conference organized by the European Productivity Agency in September 1960 and subsequent meetings arranged by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development gave the representatives of workers, employers, administrators, and research workers of many European countries the opportunity to exchange information on the knowledge acquired and the studies underway on the movement of rural workers to industry. Mobility of agricultural manpower is an important facet of the problem of general mobility of the total active population in the course of economic development. On the one hand, mobility is desirable in order to reduce the degree of under-employment in agriculture and, on the other hand, the growth of non-agricultural enterprise needs to draw upon the agricultural population for a supply of labor. To improve economic conditions the concurrent development of both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy and agricultural policy must be closely integrated with general economic policy. The appendixes include national bibliographical references and summaries of national research on the problems of adaptation and training of rural workers in Germany, France, Italy, Norway, The Netherlands, and Sweden, and project proposals for international research on the topic. (HC)

ADAPTATION AND TRAINING OF RURAL WORKERS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORK

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ADAPTATION AND TRAINING OF RURAL WORKERS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORK

CO-ORDINATION OF RESEARCH

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ED023820

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December 1960 by the Member countries of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and by Canada and the United States. This Convention provides that the O.E.C.D. shall promote policies designed:

- *to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;*
- *to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;*
- *to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.*

The legal personality possessed by the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation continues in the O.E.C.D., which came into being on 30th September 1961.

The Members of O.E.C.D. are: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

This publication forms part of a project adopted by the European Productivity Agency in 1961 under No. 8/07 A

The E.P.A., which was an integral part of O.E.E.C., ceased to exist on 30th September 1961, when the Convention of O.E.C.D. came into effect. Since this project was in course of execution at that date, the Council of the O.E.C.D. decided to bring the project to completion.

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INTRODUCTION

For several years now, in line with the economic development of Europe, public attention has been drawn to the movement of rural workers to industry. The conference organized at Groningen by the European Productivity Agency from 26th to 30th September, 1960, gave the representatives of workers, employers, administrators and research workers of many European countries the opportunity of comparing ideas and experiences. It became evident that greater coordination was exxential between the sociologists interested in this question. The meetings arranged by the O.E.C.D. were intended to give rise to exchanges of information on the knowledge acquired and the studies under way, identify the theoretical aspects of the matter, discuss the different methods of research, criticise and advise research workers, work out new fields of study and make useful recommendations for action.

These recommendations for action have been included in a special section (see pages 53-57) for the reader's convenience in making a quick analysis.

There is unfortunately one gap in the annexed List of Participants: Dr. Wolfgan Schönfeld, Austrian Delegate for the preliminary work, died suddenly; his friends and colleagues in all countries remember him as a remarkably intelligent and dynamic scientist and social worker.

A "List of Sources and Authors" referred to in the report will be found in annex 1.

The very nature of the subject made it difficult to investigate. Owing to the social change involved in the movement of rural workers to industry, it must be studied from two angles, like any social phenomenon, i.e. collectively and individually. This desire to arrive at a complete understanding implies the need to study more than one subject. However, as a phenomenon of change, investigation of the migratory movement implies another kind of overlapping: the movement does not lie specifically within the province of either a rural or an industrial expert. This difficulty is by no means negligible and there is a great temptation partly to ignore the dynamic process or to limit it to one static stage.

The need to examine the transition in all its aspects and phases will entail many repetitions which the reader is asked to excuse when they are not due to the clumsiness of the author. We shall first try to clarify the problem; we shall then attempt to make an analysis of the results, followed by a review of the questions of method raised by those who have been working on the subject. Recommendations, or, more modestly, suggestions will be made to follow up the theoretical and practical points raised. These will be collected at the end of the report for easy reference; this tentative list of possible action to be taken will be as complete as our findings and lack of knowledge will allow.

I

THE THEORETICAL PROBLEM OF CHANGE

The phenomenon studied admittedly imply movement from a primary to a final position where conditions are such that the events and activities that can take place and recur bear no resemblance to those in the former circumstances. This is no temporary change but a real transformation of the situation.

Apart from this basic differential element of the process - departure, arrival - the social nature of the two positions presupposes many ways of recognising them which we will try to isolate as follows:

1. Space and time components in the mobility of farm workers;
2. Technical, economic, social and cultural components of mobility;
3. Psychological and sociological components of mobility: social adjustment and psycho-social adaptation;
4. Macrosocial and microsocial levels of mobility;
5. Organised or spontaneous nature of the change;
6. Dynamic character of the change: change in degree or nature, continuity or discontinuity of the conditions of change.

Analysis of a few typical points in the light of these factors will show how they interact in the whole process.

1. Space and time components in the mobility of farm workers

Movement from agriculture to industry - vocational mobility - may take different forms according to the relative position of the areas concerned and the final or temporary nature of the industrial occupation. The following table summarizes the different forms resulting from a combination of these elements alone.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION IN TERMS OF SPACE AND TIME

	On the spot	Elsewhere	
		near	far
Permanent job	industry set up in a rural area	"commuters" (workers retaining their principal residence in the country) - Definite transfer of residence	- migrants in the same country - emigrants (with or without specific aim)
Temporary job	- industry set up in a rural area - seasonal industrial activity in addition to agricultural work - temporary building sites	- temporary commuters - provisional transfer (e.g. building workers)	- temporary migrants - temporary emigrants

The first division is illustrated by Germany and Austria, where industrialisation of the countryside has been preferred to movement to the towns - "leaving agriculture without leaving the countryside" (2 - p.9). In Germany, the demographic and economic nature of the land is preserved by encouraging small farmers to leave marginal farms for more profitable industrial employment in the same locality. In Austria, an attempt is made to keep the already inadequate agricultural population on the land by offering them industrial employment during slack agricultural periods.

Where the transfer of agricultural workers to the town is observed or encouraged, occupational mobility is linked with geographical mobility from agriculture to industry and from rural to urban surroundings, inside the same country (migration) or to another country (emigration).

These types of transfer vary as time goes by. Transfer may not always be final: temporary employment is a common occurrence. Occasional employment of rural manpower for large-scale construction work raises difficulties which will be discussed later (case studied in Norway), as also the question of temporary emigration (Greece). The creation of seasonal industrial employment in addition to agricultural work raises the problem, in Austria, of the selective siting of appropriate industries.

As has been seen, situations are not always clear-cut and may sometimes be intermediate. This is particularly the case with workers who periodically move to an industrial centre preparatory to settling in town or to final commuting. It is also the case with the rural development of small towns regrouped around a semi-urban centre (Germany).

A final case is the peripheric expansion of towns, a form of development very common in Denmark: the countryside is invaded by the extension of the urban built-up area. In this case, the town does not scatter industrial units outwards over a rural area but tends to absorb the countryside by a process of concentric development.

2. Technical, economic, social and cultural components of mobility

Vocational mobility, and particularly vocational geographical mobility, implies a change of environment: movement to a new technological environment, to a new background of home life, the environment either changing at home in the country or the worker moving to the new circle in town. The technological environment in industry infers a new structure in the time and rhythm of work, a competitive atmosphere, more formal supervision marked by the "myth" of progress and invention. The technological environment in agriculture is characterised by repetition, relative dependence on natural phenomena, very different rhythms of work, less formal relations than in industry. By modernising its traditional sphere, agricultural labour comes nearer to the technological sphere in industry. This tendency towards continuity between modernised spheres explains the differences of adaptation according to a traditional or evolved original rural background. It inspires development policies based on the progression: traditional agriculture - modernised agriculture - modern industry.

Technological change is closely related to economic change. Whether prosperous or marginal, traditional rural economy looks to subsistence. Industry seeks the maximum of profit, translated in the technical sphere into productivity, pressure exercised on individual output, competition, wage negotiations. Industrial occupation means money for the worker and provides the necessary conditions for an individual economy of consumption and profit. Cultural changes in technical and economic life are inseparable from the whole cultural environment with its domestic, ecological, ideological and ethnical characteristics. The worker may be introduced to a new sphere (transfer to an urban area) or the whole rural milieu or just one household may change (building factories), unless the workers commute and wander back and forth between a rural domestic and ecological environment and an urban technical and industrial environment. Here again, particular attention must be paid to the intermediate stages between these extremes: the two cultural environments are not always at opposite poles of a continuum, and semi-urban ecological forms have been observed, in developed areas; it is also necessary to define the characteristics of the land worker carefully as well as his domestic agricultural way of life.

It is necessary to realise the "social distance" between the original and the new working and residential environments. It may be a difference in the degree of development reached within a single phase of technical and cultural progress, as in the case of changes affecting the population of economically developed countries. On the other hand, it may be a fundamental difference of nature between the two environments, as it frequently is in changes affecting the populations of developing countries. It is possible to speak of "social mutation" in a phase of economic growth. In research and social work, this type of transformation, which is often associated with a change of ethnical surroundings, is not to be confused with growth changes affecting the economically developed countries.

Two situations are becoming increasingly common, however, in which the research procedure and methods of action relating to both types of population are linked together without becoming merged: the first is the transfer of a group from a less developed to an already developed area, as, for instance, the Greek migrations into Germany; the second is the introduction of an industrial unit and a group of technicians, originating in a developed country, into a less developed area. Transfer must be analysed in the context of society as a whole; it cannot be one-dimensional; the final proof of this is provided by the need to speak of the movement in terms of vertical social mobility: an act of horizontal mobility might for example take the form of an "attempt" at upward mobility or at trying to hide a loss of status, as in the case of the sons of Irish farmers who take work far from their native village so as not to let their neighbours see what they consider to be a loss of social standing.

To illustrate the diversity of the changes brought about by the interplay of economic and cultural conditions, a table has been prepared to show the slightly differentiated situations which may be distinguished by a simple combination of a few economic and ethnical factors. It is obvious that the purpose of such a table is not to give an exhaustive picture but to demonstrate the complexity of the matter, remembering the distinctions which must be made for the classification of economic environments and studying this table in conjunction with the previous one.

3. Psychological and Sociological components of mobility: social adjustment and psycho-social adaptation

The social nature of transfer is sufficiently apparent not to need examination. On the other hand, when going on to the concrete study of phenomena, conflicting views are to be found between psychologists and sociologists. The need for a common approach becomes all the more urgent when it is necessary to define phenomena of the kind which call for practical action. A psychological - sociological scheme is indispensable here.

FORMS OF CHANGE IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND ETHNICAL FACTORS

	ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT ON RECEPTION IN INDUSTRY							
	LESS DEVELOPED Economy				MORE FULLY DEVELOPED Economy			
	ETHNICAL RESIDENCE ENVIRONMENT							
	Without change of ethnical surrounding in residence		With change		Without change of ethnical surrounding in residence		With change	
	ETHNICAL WORK ENVIRONMENT							
	Without change	With change	Without change	With change	Without change	With change	Without change	With change
ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT BEFORE TRANSFER TO INDUSTRY LESS DEVELOPED Economy								
MORE FULLY DEVELOPED Economy								

Each aspect of an individual act of mobility may be referred to a group aspect. Transfer may for example concern one isolated individual: yet he moves into a new group, leaving another behind. More often, however, it will be necessary to follow the changes of groups of a certain size or even an entire social structure, as in the case of developing countries. In these conditions and in spite of the academic vacuum of such distinctions, we insist on taking into consideration:

- the individual or the migrant group;
- the receiving groups into which a rural group is absorbed (employers, workers, neighbourhood);
- the groups left behind from which the migrant group came, farm people who do not follow the preceding group to the factory, either on the spot or elsewhere;
- the organising groups which stimulate, organise or curb mobility (public authorities, planners).

This last distinction permits a clearer distinction between spontaneous, encouraged, thwarted (Greece) or forced transfers. Combining these elements can produce the table of interaction between the individual and the groups in the process of migration:

- relations between the individual and receiving groups (adjustment of the individual to the norms of these groups: rejection or acceptance by the receiving group);
- relations between the individual and his migrant group (e.g. conflict between migrants of different generations);
- relations between the migrant group and receiving groups (e.g. integration, conflict);
- complex of internal reactions of the migrant individual to new situations (migrant's neuroses, promotion frustration or initiative, personal euphoria, thymic depression).

An interaction table of this kind makes it possible to define what is meant by adaptation of the migrant individual or group. Adaptation in the most generally accepted sense covers two processes: social adjustment and psycho-social adaptation.

Social "adjustment" of the individual to the norms of the groups involved in the change.

The first process is that of harmonising the behaviour of the migrant individual with the implicit or explicit norms of the groups concerned: receiving groups (employer, new neighbourhood), organising groups (planning authorities) and the migrant group to which the individual belongs. We have agreed to keep the term "adjustment" for this process of agreement (or conformation), at least provisionally and until more information is available, as it seems to belong to both psychological and sociological literature, whereas the term "adaptation" which is of biological origin has a psychological connotation.

This conformation or non-conformation to the requirements of the groups encountered by the individual is multiform, according to the different aspects involved in the transfer. Technical adjustment, for the employers, is governed by the norms of productivity: occupational stability, individual output, safety-mindedness, infrequency of accidents, trouble-free relations with authority, etc. Social adjustment to the norms of receiving groups may take such varied forms as acceptance of passive dependence, in a dominant receiving group, the segregation of ecological groups or even complete assimilation. The adjustment of the different receiving groups may not always go well together, but differences may be more marked with those of the groups organising the movement: the behaviour of foreigners expected by the public authorities is not always what the natives like. The authorities may envisage promotion for the new arrivals which is refused them by nationals. It may be also worth noting that a feeling of fulfilment ("happiness") is often a norm associated with current values in advanced industrial societies and taken into account in judging adjustment.

The aggregate of all the norms of a single group has a "multicriterial" character, and adjustment may thus be only partial: an individual's technological adjustment may for example include quantitative efficiency but exclude qualitative productivity and the avoidance of accidents. Moreover, norms of different groups may be contradictory and the migrant individual cannot then satisfy all the forms of adjustment expected. He must therefore face a conflict of external requirements and react by simulated contradictory adjustment - often the characteristic of multiple social dependence behaviour - or by partial adjustment, or again by complete maladjustment.

Adjustment may be in several ways: through accommodation, the individual modifies his conduct in such a fashion that adjustment is attained without affecting his general personal behaviour; through integration, the migrant individual finds his place in the receiving group thanks to functional insertion. This is a type of acceptance in which his identity and psychological and social existence are not lost in those of the individuals of the receiving group. Assimilation, on the contrary, is a process of organic incorporation in which the migrant individual undergoes a psychological and social metamorphosis allowing him to become assimilated with the members of the dominant group.

Social maladjustment may take the form of retreat, with a premature or unforeseen return to the place of origin, instability, with haphazard search for a new place to move to, or withdrawal, with minimum activity and participation in the adjustment areas.

It is not necessary to insist on the fact that adjustment is not a unilateral process. Born of social and psychological interaction the mode of adjustment is determined by the individual's characteristics, those of his group of origin and those of his receiving group all at the same time. The process of agreement between the individual and his migrant group affected by the change will be studied in the same social context. Multiple adjustment seems all the more difficult when the migrant and the receiving groups are socially far apart and the migrant group is itself heterogeneous. Transfer may in fact create a situation where adjustment outside the group is adequate but adjustment inside the group (i.e. the migrant group) is very imperfect: such is the case, for example, in collective migration simultaneously affecting several generations; the youngsters may adapt their behaviour to the way of life demanded by the new milieu and find themselves in conflict with their elders who had norms different from those of the new external environment. Older people stay adjusted to the migrant group and adjust badly to the new environment. In groups of Greek temporary emigrants, antagonisms have been noted between workers saving up to go home for promotion in Greece and workers who tend to spend on the spot and are adapted to the norms of the country which employs them.

We have just spoken of the adjustment of the individual to the norms of the groups affected by the change. This study should also be applied to adjustment between groups in order to take account of the phenomena found at the level common to both migrant and receiving groups.

The adjustment of a group does not involve that of all its individuals. A migrant group may on the whole achieve equivalence as far as external requirements are concerned and still include socially pathological, deviant individuals who are exceptions to the rule in their group. On the other hand, a great many individuals in a group may be adjusted without the group itself being considered as such: this phenomenon is not necessarily due to a higher proportion of badly adjusted persons but rather to the creation of social structures (institutions, customs, norms) which identify the group despite those members of it who are adjusted externally.

Psycho-social "adaptation" to the new situation

We have tried to define and illustrate the psychological and sociological idea of adjustment: the process and result of accommodation of an individual or group to norms, requirements and expectations of the different groups affected by the change; this relationship is found in all the new situations created by transfer and particularly in the relations between migrant individuals and the groups which receive or accompany them.

This idea is based on the relationship between the individual or group and some external elements of the situation. It is also necessary, however, to take into account the psychological and social adaptation of the individual or group, i.e. the internal reaction of the migrant individual or group faced with the new social situation. This anlaysis is psycho-sociological. By analogy with dialogue, we can say that adjustment is the relative exactness or inexactness of the reply given by the individual to a question put to him, while psychological adaptation refers to the process of making the reply, the act of replying, whatever its dialectical pertinence.

Let it be made clear at once that this means the individual reply and the group reply. If individual psycho-social adaptation has to be analysed in psychological terms, it is equally necessary to analyse psycho-social adaptation at the level of the migrant group as a whole. If it is possible, for example, to observe individual psychosomatic and psychological disturbances in the change situation, it is also possible to discover disturbances affecting the group itself, such as crises of group disruption with total rejection of any form of transformation (cohabitation or active assimilation), new outbreaks of delinquency, collective panic behaviour, etc. Certain individuals may then be psychologically well-adapted to the new social situation, whereas the group as such is maladjusted.

Individual psycho-social adaptation in this sense is analysed in terms of internal relations and in particular of subjective equilibrium. To be more precise: a migrant individual may be adjusted externally to the new situation and satisfy the requirements of the groups on which he depends - his productivity is high, he is stable in his employment, his relations with the factory and at home are good, etc. - but he may not be adapted internally to the new situation and analysis of his intimate private behaviour would reveal disappointment, relative frustration at lack of success in social advancement, the feeling of being rejected by those around him,or again the feeling that his abilities are not recognised. Conversely, a rural worker may have adapted himself for instance by taking a responsible position and role at the head of a migrant group and tyrannically defending traditions which have a negative effect on the introduction of the outsiders in a social community; his adaptation may take the form of internal satisfaction, absence of crisis or exhaustion, efficiency in the use of his faculties; he is well adapted psychologically to the changed situation yet, being a petty tyrant in the migrant group and rebellious to the receiving group, he is not adjusted socially.

Individual psycho-social adaptation to change expresses itself first in terms of internal conflict, crisis or equilibrium: complete adaptation is distinguished by absence of doubt, fits of hesitation or wavering between spontaneous or voluntary conduct and emotional states; this internal equilibrium may be expressed by the concept of psychic homeostasis. Satisfaction is sometimes a sign of adaptation, but there may be adaptation in continuous and masochistic frustration or in a state of permanent aggressive revolt. In the absolute sense, the criterion of complete internal adaptation lies in the constancy of behaviour: apathy or constant state of revolt, euphoria or continually improving conduct. Some fluctuations appear in identical situations; they have a structural character and happen when adaptation is completed: the migrant who, for example, abandons a job as soon as he has earned enough to live for a few days and who becomes an industrial vagabond is, in the strict sense, psychologically adapted and socially pathological. He reacts the same way to identical situations, even if his behaviour may oscillate somewhat each time. Other fluctuations are not so repetitive and automatic; they are no longer just fluctuations but crises, or disturbances: the trouble is not resolved by establishing a regular model of conduct and there is no adaptation. In this sense, the migrant is unadapted who first takes up stable employment for a long period then dabbles in a series of roughly similar occupations.

The psycho-social adaptation of the group is expressed in parallel terms of balance and regularity, or absence of crisis in the community as a whole. The group may adapt itself passively or actively or as a minority opposition. As with the individual, the final adaptation is not always what is wanted by outside groups: the apathetic minority is, strictly speaking, adapted from the psycho-social point of view but is not adjusted to the norms of the majority which wishes to absorb it and see it either disappear or develop in some original form. Like all collective phenomena, psycho-social adaptation of the migrant group may take the form of frequency of individual "adaptative" behaviour within the group which encourages this and by institutions and collective demonstrations which can be assessed independently of individual behaviour.

Whereas social adjustment means the relative accommodation of the individual or group, to group "attitudes", psycho-social adaptation is the relative accommodation of the individual or group to his or its own expectations. Adaptation does not necessarily lead to adjustment, but social adjustment generally passes through the stage of psycho-social adaptation. In practice, it is rare for the more obvious conflicts or internal crisis not to appear in social behaviour, even if only in the form of absence of satisfaction in essential hopes, satisfaction being often judged to be an element of adjustment in our society. Defective adjustment may be due to individual or collective inadaptability to change, but the conditions of adjustment will naturally often bring about inadaptation. Thus, the conflict of requirements of different groups can cause maladjustment in the shape of internal conflict: we have already spoken of those younger migrants caught between two schools of behaviour. Migrating farm people may sometimes adjust better in the first generation to domestic and working groups as they have themselves chosen industrial life while retaining traditional domestic habits; their children, on the other hand, will suffer from instability due to detachment from the traditional family setting uncompensated by good technical training or learning of urban habits.

4. Macrosocial and microsocial levels of mobility

Too lengthy disquisitions on the nature of psychological and sociological adaptation involve the risk of concentrating attention on primary sociological principles. Transfer phenomena have to be explained by referring them back to the complete social context in which they occur. Transfer takes place as part of intercontinental social movements under the influence of economic and cultural factors which must be referred to the evolution of civilisations in general. For this reason, we have realigned the phenomena studied in the cultural context of the industrial age. In the present case, the conflict between generations is more far-reaching than the normal conflict of generations seen in a stable society. It is often the conflict of two cultures. The scale of the movement studied, the importance of the organising groups already mentioned, force us also to consider the facts at national and international level.

For example, transfer cannot be understood or influenced unless not only the exact stage of development of the directly affected regions is known, but also the national or international system of expansion whose extremes determine mobility. Psycho-social adaptation, whether external or internal, can only be understood in the light of relations between a person and social groups. The various strands which make up the complicated network of the society in which the individual integrates himself must be thoroughly studied. Adaptation can be witnessed or controlled only if none of the levels of psycho-social reality where it occurs has been neglected: tasks as apparently disparate as measuring potential manpower surpluses and diagnosing collective migration neuroses help to discover the same universe and differ only in social scale but not in degree of relative dependence on the fact of transfer.

5. Organised or spontaneous nature of the change: social movements and planning

A distinction has been made between the groups which move and those which influence the movement; without insisting on the nature of this distinction, we would like to point out its importance. The forms of the change differ in relation to whether it has been spontaneous or provoked. They also differ according to the extent to which the change comes to a human group from the outside or the inside, in other words, according to its "external" or "internal" character (1); the transformation of a community may be due in fact to the repercussions of external events such as competition from a new source of agricultural supply or the building of a new factory - the change is then mainly external; but the transformation may stem from a general process to which the community subscribes of its own accord and in an original way: (e.g. application of a local plan inspired locally); the change can then be classed as more genuinely "internal". Thus, a group may bring about the transformation of a community from the outside or from the inside; it may also precipitate matters by decisions and definite schemes. Such is the case for local development actions, decentralisation and planning at all stages. It is not possible to acquire exact scientific knowledge of the phenomena of adaptation and obviously much less to acquire knowledge applicable in this field unless special attention is paid to this aspect of interaction. Whether it is indicative, stimulating or imperative, planning at its various levels constitutes in itself a change in our own time;

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(1) S. Moscovici: Reconversion industrielle et changements sociaux (Industrial resettlement and social change) - Paris, Armand Colin, 1961, 320 p.

to overlook it is not to condemn it, but we condemn ourselves by overlooking an essential aspect of the sociological present.

6. Continuous or discontinuous dynamic aspect of the change

We have noted a natural and quite comprehensible tendency among sociologists to consider mobility as a change of state, isolating the stages of the movement rather than appreciating the movement itself. This is due to specialisation in the study of movement in stable structures - rural economy or industrial sociology for example. It is also due to the difficulty, bound up with the movement itself, of describing changes in fixed terms. At all levels, mobility must be described in dynamic terms: economic transformation of rural structures under the pressure of the forces of development happens in phases and planning presupposes stages; the phenomena of the period of transition (reception, settlement) constitute a major subject of observation for both psychologists and sociologists, whereas ecological or social promotion cycles are of interest to sociologists. Everything in this context will gain from dynamic study. In short, social scientists must adapt themselves... in order to study adaptation.

The dynamic approach proposes very different models of social change: "by degrees" or "re-structuration"; the stages of certain processes are different degrees of the same continuum, the limits of other processes are worlds apart. Some changes may be considered as variations in degree and others as variations in nature. The process of change "by degrees" of a semi-industrial countryside in Germany (2 - p.9), may be contrasted with the transformation of a traditionally Mediterranean region by the installation of a large industrial complex. The economic conditions of mobility are in the one case those of development, in the other those of complete change. In the one case, the structure either expands or dwindles but, in the other, it disappears and is replaced by something else.

Finally, between the limits of change by degrees or "re-structuration", there may be continuous or intermittent developments. This feature brings us back to the time factor mentioned earlier. It can clarify the actual process of the change and the adaptation bound up with it. More or less similar stages may occur during the movement: psychologically, for example, adjustment can occur by steps or immediately; external adjustment may be almost immediate; it is more rare for internal adaptation to occur in this way if the change is very drastic. Ecologically speaking, certain processes of migration cover many phases: collective dwellings, family slum, modern dwellings. Others cover the sudden movement from a rural dwelling to a flat in a large town-building. Economically speaking, some developments occur by stages according to a normal progression: modernisation of agriculture and creation of small industries, agrarian and industrial concentration. Other developments will follow a sudden progression with the revolutionary breaking up of a rural structure, accelerated urban and industrial expansion and return to a rural development. These rhythmic characteristics should be brought to light whether the movement be studied against an economic, psycho-pathological or linguistic background.

7. Case for multi-dimensional models

It may seem somewhat unnecessary to take up again what has just been said. The reader is asked to excuse this, but the sense of the inadequacy of our explanations, combined with the conviction of the great importance of the view we wish to recall, enjoin us to do so. We should, of course, have made one continuous analysis of the different dimensions through which the transfer has to be described; the risk inherent in the multi-dimensional nature of these social facts is that, in pin-pointing their different aspects, their unity is apt to be overlooked. When describing an aspect of adaptation in a plan, we would therefore prefer to be sure that its relationship with other aspects in other plans is well under control.

As an illustration, we would point out that the fact of the emergence of a consumer and market economy, in the widest social and economic context, should be compared, in the individual and narrowest sociological context, with the appearance of new saving or hire-purchase habits. The economic analysis of surpluses of rural manpower will be related to the analysis of mobility motivation recorded in the populations studied (2 - p. 9); (2 - p. 14). Sociological appraisal of cultural disparities between departure and arrival environments calls for psychological and sociological recognition of types of adaptation associated more frequently with changes by "restructuration" or by "expansion". This many-sided interaction therefore obliges us to correlate different aspects, and the co-ordination of research has now a convergence role instead of just comparing or aligning different branches of study.

II

FIRST RESULTS OF RESEARCH ON THE MOVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL MANPOWER TO INDUSTRIAL WORK

Some results of studies on transfer are to be found in the national reports and in the general report of the Groningen Conference. At this juncture, we shall mention particular aspects brought to light during discussions between research workers. Certain aspects will not be developed in full here if they have been examined in greater detail in the general report on the Groningen Conference(1). These are mainly facts concerning motives for migration(2) and concrete information on the results of training(3). Finally, constant reference must be made to the work of the Havana Conference on immigration (1956)(4). We shall make a distinction between the study of phenomena connected with transfer on the spot, accompanied by industrialisation of a rural setting, and the study of transfer at a distance in the shape of migration to an urban setting. In both cases, we shall try to distinguish between and compare the situation in expanding and in developing countries.

A. LOCAL TRANSFER OF AGRICULTURAL MANPOWER

The movement to industry in a rural environment may be effected by the extension of concerns already on the spot, the development being internal, or by setting up new factories as part of a decentralisation or expansion scheme decided on elsewhere, the development being then external Farm workers' switch to industry can also take place in rural areas where factories have existed for a long time. In that case, entering the factory is a habitual social occurrence: community structure and groups are not affected. This situation should not be ignored as it includes no critical factors and achieves in some specific form the stability aimed at for the developing areas.

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(1) Rural Manpower and Industrial Development. General report by Professor H. KRIER. Paris, 1961, O.E.E.C. Publication No. 13557, 2, rue André-Pascal, Paris 16-ème.

(2) op. cit., pp. 15-25.

(3) op. cit., pp. 38-51.

(4) W. de BORRIE - The Cultural Integration of Immigrants (survey based on the papers and proceedings of the UNESCO Conference - Havana - April 1956).

In an endeavour to stay within the limits of our definition of change, we shall discuss in turn:

- certain aspects of the economic transformation of the rural environment affected by industrialisation;
- phenomena in connection with the change of employment and particularly with the competition between agricultural and industrial work;
- relations between farm workers in industry and those still on the land;
- adjustment to a new job;
- processes of social and cultural adaptation;
- relations with groups introduced into the new setting by the creation of new undertakings.

Economic transformation of the developing rural sector

A new conception of planning seems about to develop in countries which show a high degree of urban concentration at the same time as an already high level of rural industrialisation: industrial expansion is being channelled away from the towns so that "leaving agriculture does not mean leaving the countryside" (2 - p.9). This orientation has been chosen with an eye to the social and geographical equilibrium of the whole country and because of internal manpower recruitment difficulties. As full employment has drained to the towns such manpower reserves as were available outside, it is reckoned that fewer people are now likely to move geographically. The attraction of the factories must therefore be brought closer to the farmers and new groups must be found for the industrial sector. New personnel of this kind can be recruited among farmers on marginal properties due to disappear with the modernisation of agriculture but which could be usefully abandoned sooner. This policy may help to even-out the economic structure of the country and avoid importing foreign manpower by using under-employed labour from areas spared by the spread of development. Difficulties of this kind are particularly acute in France, where the Renault Works in Paris was obliged in 1962 to consider recruiting a contingent of workers from the Abruzzi in Italy as an insufficient number could be induced to leave Brittany where there is relative under-employment.

Germany wants to industrialise rural areas to increase incomes in country districts. Against this background, "industrialisation" means the creation of non-agricultural jobs in industry, handicrafts, commerce and tourism. This kind of arranging the territory creates a balanced system.

While Germany wants to industrialise the land in order to develop industry and raise rural standards of living, Austria wants similar industrialisation to maintain agriculture, which is threatened by the steady drift from rural and mountainous areas. The same kind of planning due to conflicting necessities involves a study of the regional economic infrastructure and its equipment needs, and especially an estimate of manpower reserves. Structure and equipment studies undertaken in Germany are directed towards the search for optimum regional development. This is sought by putting new life into the areas around semi-urban centres (5,000 inhabitants in Germany). The appearance of new ecological and economic units must be emphasized in this respect. The concept of industrialisation in the larger context of urban concentration has given way in some countries to a concept of piecemeal industrialisation in the countryside. The planning unit now becomes an area in which one and the same system may include isolated pockets with a limited number of inhabitants. The costs of infrastructure equipment continue to be calculated in order to establish the degressive limit of costs in relation to the number of inhabitants in the develoment unit.

This search for the best structure for rural areas implies active recognition of the dismemberment effects for the countryside of setting up or extending existing industries on the spot. Such effects are not less in the case of transfer elsewhere, but they are then different as the agricultural group and the industrial group are no longer in the same place. In the case of regional planning, optimum agricultural and industrial considerations are directly associated with the search for local balance. In measuring the effects that mobility townwards can have on the structure of life in the country, equilibrium is sought from a distance in a system of multiple poles of attraction which are more difficult to control.

The organisation of development in rural areas is mainly based on the estimate of potential manpower reserves. The methods practised in Germany are based on sorting out the different categories and levels of availability on the labour market: registered unemployed, workers in jobs without security of employment, persons having never worked before (young married women without children). This computation is made at the same time as the estimate of agricultural manpower needs in terms of the optimum family farm structure. The difference between reserves and needs shows what remains available for industry. It is not possible at present to judge the validity of forecasts based on counting those categories which are normally likely to supply recruits for industry. Maximum reserves are assessed and German research workers are now concentrating on additional ways of estimating the numbers who wish to migrate. This corresponds to a quantitative measurement of latent surpluses. No qualitative census of manpower in any particular region has been reported in Europe. The survey of latent skills helps to get a better picture of manpower reserves: the term "farmer" can cover technical skills - agricultural or domestic - such as mechanic, radio-electrician and skills used in a previous civilian or military career. Surveys of this kind help to supply accurate information to firms looking for a site and for recruits for vocational guidance and training.

The re-arrangement of a balanced economic structure does not of course amount to adaptation, but it is not far removed and is one of the essential conditions for adaptation in so far as it makes for better conciliation of employment and the conditions of economic and ecological life with the aspirations and needs of rural workers. As an illustration of the interest of a balanced area for adaptation purposes, note the reduction in travelling time between the home and the place of work when factories have been built in a particular zone in order not to have to draw their personnel from too far afield; the avoidance of conflict between small farmers, on the one hand, who do not manage to change over to industry for lack of sufficient jobs on the spot and, on the other, privileged workers employed in a decentralised factory paying high wages; or the avoidance of the opposite danger due to the setting up of only one firm without competitors, paying minimum wages and exposing its personnel to the uncertainty accruing to only one source of employment.

Adaptation to change of occupation due to transfer on the spot

One of the characteristics of transfer on the spot is the possibility of choice for the same person at home or in the neighbourhood between agricultural and industrial employment. Part-time agricultural activity by workers in industry is regarded as a "necessary evil" in some regions where ties with agriculture remain close as in Norway or in regions where it is necessary to keep farms manned which are menaced by the drift to the towns. The industrial adjustment of these workers is often judged to be not very satisfactory: employers report a tendency to absenteeism, greater fatigue, less general integration in the firm. Such types of mixed activity may differ, however, and be spread out over the various levels of adjustment. In more stable circumstances, it seems that farm workers adapt satisfactorily for industry and for themselves. Their domestic agricultural activity is then only limited and almost a leisure-time hobby. This has often been noted among country-bred miners whose domestic agricultural activity has often been reduced to gardening or small-scale stock-breeding by the exigencies of modern production. These miners are more typical of a type of rural life than of real agricultural labour and they are well integrated into their jobs (4 - p.18). This affords another instance of adaptation achieved in new composite and balanced forms resulting from the blending of traditional forms.

One kind of part-time agricultural work seems particularly harmful: farmers' children who work on the family farm. This situation, which is illustrated by Ireland gives rise to great economic and physical dependence for the son: when he is employed in a factory he is obliged to work on the farm as well, which keeps its former traditional character. Whereas the factory invites him to integrate into a consumer wage-earner economy, the paternal farm takes his industrial earnings and keeps him to a subsistence economy. In addition, his agricultural work is a source of extra fatigue as he is expected to do as much as if he were not working outside. This double frustration is aggravated by the fact that the farmer's son may compare his lot with that of his companions in industry who dispose of their own leisure and wages; the result is a tendency to leave the farm, often conflicting with the need to stay in the hope of inheritance. This situation is all the more harmful as the income brought in by the sons may well serve to keep alive a marginal economic structure on farms ill-suited to modern agriculture.

The conditions of part-time agricultural work determine the right choice of firms to be set-up in areas where the necessity for this kind of participation in industry makes itself felt. The problem is particularly acute in Austria (2-p.15), where an attempt is made to select industries able to give seasonal employment compatible with local agricultural work. Such a planning involves a reduced choice of industries, employment in industry is considered as complementary to agricultural work whereas, in the other balanced situation, agricultural work is additional to industrial activity. Another kind of industrial employment in rural areas is of interest to research: the employment of agricultural manpower on temporary works, building or short-term works. Transfer to the industrial sector may in this case take the form either of an incidental or of a first step towards definite transfer. The latter was noted in France where the process of transfer often begins through the intermediary of local building works to spread gradually nearer and nearer to the town. In the incidental form, where industrial work constitutes merely an interruption of agricultural life, the problems raised by this situation for farmers are both those of part-time agricultural work described above and those of readjustment to agriculture.

Farmers who deliberately return to their farms or who are obliged to do so must make an economic choice: either to invest the savings made during their spell in industry in household equipment or else in agricultural equipment. This economic choice between two alternatives may be added to a first social and vocational choice between final transfer (often by migration) and a return to agriculture. More often perhaps, particularly in cases like those observed in Norway where there are no possibilities of industrial employment on the spot (building a dam in the mountains), the spell of industrial life engenders an insatiable wish to work in a local factory. All these conditions join to induce oscillatory behaviour and oblige the authorities at the time of recruitment and before laying off to inform about the temporary nature of the work and about the possibilities of employment afterwards, and perhaps also to advise on the way to invest the savings in agriculture.

Special attention should be paid to local transfers of manpower to jobs in any tourist industry which may be developing in country areas. The development of tourism in a rural area may have the effect of lowering the standards of general and vocational training, because little skill is required for work in the tourist industry. This fact was pointed out in Austria. Development of the tourist industry may have the effect either of encouraging labourers to leave the country or to remain on the spot. Tourists introduce factors which may incite new forms of behaviour. They give rise to a picture of urban life which is often deceptive as it may be affected by the tourists special way of life, which is marked by leisure and spending and perhaps by behaviour suggesting social superiority and an affectation of wealth. Being intermittent, the tourist influence may be a factor of social and economic balance when it is supplemented by other seasonal activities, as in the case of certain winter sports areas. But this very intermittence may introduce alternating rush and slack periods which tend to make for psychological and social disturbance or even disruption.

When tourism suggests migration to the towns, the lack of vocational skills which it produces in the rural population becomes immediately evident because the job which led to the decision to transfer has not even served as a preparatory stage for industrial work.

Adaptation to change of occupation

No specific differences are now expected between workers of agricultural origin and those of industrial origin due to such origin alone. More or less tacit agreement seems to have been reached on the absence of such differences and on the importance of the psychological and social conditions in which the transfer takes place. It might be better if this agreement were more explicit and if we could be assured that it was provisionally taken for granted. It is still necessary to investigate the different forms of bad adjustment to work to be found in some rural workers. Here, too, we lack detailed information on social maladjustment in the factory. Absenteeism is most common but no mention is made of particular behaviour with regard to qualitative and quantitative efficiency or alertness. It would not be very scientific to think that the absence of information on these matters is a sign of the absence of significant differences in actual fact, and the existence and possibly the different forms of bad adjustment to work should be properly established. Differences in the previous social and vocational lives of the workers seem far from negligible. The studies conducted at Turin revealed a significant increase in accidents among migrant workers from the South, especially during the initial adaptation phase which generally lasts for about one or two years. On the other hand, adjustment in other technical and social aspects of employment is considered rapid and easy. An analysis of the accidents reveals a lack of acclimatisation to the industrial, technical environment and suggests an urgent need for introducing special measures of initiation to the new working conditions. In areas where the technical and occupational level is more homogeneous, in the Netherlands for instance, these differences disappear on that observation level. It has been suggested that in the less-developed countries, differences might well appear between workers from mountain areas, who are more safety minded, and workers from the plains, where working conditions involve far less risk.

More positive information is available on human relations at work. Emphasis is put on the progress from traditional and informal work relations to more formalised systems of supervision and responsibility. These differences are obvious but not identical in transfers in less modernised regions. The change then consists in transition from usually patriarchal relationships, to the usual type of industrial relations. The contrast may appear when the executive staff of a new firm brings with it the personal authoritative relations to be observed in American industry. The difference is then much sharper: relative dependence on rigid authority in an informal patriarchal system has to give way to dependence on personalised authority in a formal "industrial organisation".

Adaptation to the technical and social conditions of industrial work goes through a transitional period in which adjustment difficulties appear. Behaviour cannot change immediately. This means that the introduction of the workers to the factory must be considered dynamically. The transitional period must be taken as a period of learning of the new situation. Productivity requirements must be adjusted to the possibilities of the new workers pending their adjustment in turn to the normal conditions in the firm. In particular, training cannot merely be regarded as a process prior to an outside employment. The last stage of apprenticeship takes place in the factory. The process of adaptation may be related to the workers' urge to move. The desire for vertical vocational mobility and possibilities of promotion inside the firm have been found to be a condition of internal and external adaptation to change. Both stability of the personnel and individual productivity may depend on it.

This observation leads to the practical corollary that a firm which decentralises itself could find it to its interest either to set up a complete production unit with possibilities for its workers of promotion to all levels of the hierarchy or, if a branch has to specialise in "horizontal" production, keep promotion possibilities open in other branches. The dynamic analysis of adaptation, assimilating a transitional period with a period of apprenticeship, suggests also that employment must be regarded throughout its duration as a continuous process of training.

Cultural and vocational adaptation

Our attention was first concentrated on the entry of the agricultural worker into the social group of the factory. We now wish to enumerate some facts about his adaptation to the environment outside his work and the influence of this environment on his adjustment in the factory or on the building site.

Change of occupation includes transformation of technical norms, but, at the same time, a social, economic and cultural metamorphosis has to accompany this transformation. The overlapping of these processes may take the form of several phases of adaptation (4-p.23). Adjustment to technical environment occupies a first phase and economic behaviour remains attached to its traditional subsistence pattern. After a second period of stability in the new income category, exemplified by greater security, a change from saving to credit and relative economic satisfaction, a third phase may appear where aspirations outstrip the immediate needs and become the source of discontent. The process of social transition meshes with that of vocational change.

The economic and cultural environment is transformed by the appearance of wage-earner/consumers who have given up their way of life as small producers. But the opposite can happen first: the cultural background can have a strong influence on the adaptation of rural workers to industry. Practical verification of this theory is becoming a common practice with the extension of development schemes in areas of static economy, associated with a multiplicity of sociological and anthropological studies. Chances of psycho-social adaptation depend, first of all on the existence in the employable group of a certain economic motivation which induces them to adopt the outlook of the worker - wage-earner- consumer. These chances are also associated with the welcome given by local groups to new firms being established on local or external initiative. Collective resistance to change may exercise a greater negative pressure than the sum of individual resistances. Resistance to initiative from outside may be particularly lively. This aspect of the development was studied in Sicily by Professor Pizzorno and gives us much useful information. To pacify local resistance to the introduction of North Italian investment, a policy was applied which might be termed "delegation of initiative". Local notabilities with great prestige (the local aristocracy for example) were associated with the management of the private or public capital so as to create the atmosphere of confidence necessary to a population which regards contractors from the North merely as capitalists interested not only in profit but also in a specific territorial exploiting of the South. In the course of certain experiments in the Netherlands it was noted, however, that although the action of leading local notabilities was effective in the early stages of introducing new business, it might afterwards hamper further progress. Notabilities who may have given impetus to the development at the start might afterwards retard any resulting progress by their inability to control a movement requiring new standards and action and technical qualifications.

Social receptivity also depends on the welcome extended to the management of new firms. Conflict may arise between outside executives and local workers. One of the concerns of the Fund for the Development of the South in Sicily was to train as large a number as possible of foremen from among those who seemed better able to deal with the local labour force and to maintain an atmosphere of confidence and the feeling that the whole venture was local.

In planning and development aid, we are nowadays much more conscious of the importance of the cultural background. The idea of preparing the ground on the vocational, psychological and social levels has come out as exploded that of the sociological process of development. Industrialisation is no longer seen as the direct transformation of a traditional agricultural environment but as a stage in or after the modernisation of the agricultural environment. This notion is particularly applicable to regions before industrialisation, where the drift to urban centres must be curbed and uniform development of rural areas planned. Psychologically and socially, aspirations must be built up to break the normal pattern of family agriculture at subsistence level and continuous absorption of population surpluses and to increase receptiveness to the introduction of more productive new structures. Socially and economically, agriculture must be transformed to maintain this appetite of the community and reduce in advance the differences between the standard of living and way of life on the farm and those of the future industrial workers (whether employed on the spot or in town). The wish to reduce structural differences is due to greater attention being paid to the various disruptive phenomena affecting the agricultural environment on the introduction of industry. Agricultural economists and sociologists have provided much food for thought by describing the effects of transfer to industry. In the case of transfer on the spot, we have already noticed the danger of feeding an industrial income back into an old-fashioned farm. The introduction of industry may produce an effect deleterious to the much-desired progress in agriculture by maintaining a state of imbalance that may lead to a retarded and, consequently, acute crisis. The collapse of marginal farms kept going for a time by over-investment in equipment and labour may be all the more disastrous if it happens at an artificially high level.

Agricultural economy may also be disorganised by the opening of a factory. Wages paid by industry may be invested in new intensive kinds of farming, fruit-growing for example (15), competing with traditional farms unable to benefit from the same source of capital and which will possibly have to pay more for labour because of higher wages offered by industry. The opening of new concerns may thus be a source of conflict not only for individuals torn between the requirements of part-time agricultural work and full-time work in the factory, but also for the two groups of farmers and farmer-factory workers. Taking this risk into account supplies fresh arguments for the practical principle of priority for modernising agriculture rather than industry when developing traditionally rural areas. One kind of research to be developed concerns the comparison of the process of social and cultural change in the case of rural industrialisation already prepared by modernising agriculture with a case where the ground has not been prepared beforehand. Special studies under way at present on estimating the effects of industrialisation on the agricultural economy in France and Norway provide evidence of the interest shown in the twin dynamic aspects of the influence of mobility on arrival and departure environments. More detailed studies are necessary to supplement those made in Sardinia and Southern Italy for example not only as on the consequences, but also on the dynamic process, of introducing a new business into a traditional community, and in particular on the channels and methods of spreading new cultural standards.

Survey of the psycho-social forms of adaptation

In studying the transfer of rural workers, the list of individual forms of adaptation is extended by new illustrations and new ideas which will perhaps help to define the psychological and social theory of change. It must be noted, however, that the forms of adaptation generally described are not processes, but states of adaptation that seem to have achieved final equilibrium. Agreement is general on the sociological importance of transition phenomena, but no attempt has been made to describe psychologically the sequence of behaviours, phases and mechanisms which occur during these transitions. The genetic study of social adaptation has not yet been systematically undertaken, except perhaps in connection with partial adaptation to the various vocational, economic and cultural influences.

In dealing with our subjects, we have distinguished types of adaptation in terms of the degree of industrial transformation in the new situation: we pointed to accommodation, integration and assimilation. Some forms of adaptation are also designated in terms of the nature of insertion in the working life (2 - p.21): "Passive familiarisation", "worker identification" and "reserved participation" in the expectation of a further move. "Passive familiarisation" consists in accepting the conditions of industrial work; but this acceptance of technical change is not the same thing as active participation in industrial life. This lack of integration in industrial life is expressed in the absence of a desire for personal group promotion: there may be only passive acceptance of the new social structure without any dynamic individual plans or participation in trade union aspirations and activities. "Worker identification" is a form of assimilation where the new worker takes up the way of life existing in the industrial environment. This assumes good personal adaptability and favourable conditions at home. This kind of adaptation may be expected of young workers and in areas prepared for modernisation where the individual can assert himself in his new social role. It should be noted that complete identification with the industrial world may be a kind of defence against opposition from the agricultural environment. To reduce tension, the individual puts himself in an extreme position: this attitude is similar to that which takes the form, for example, of the decision by Irish farmers' sons to move to a factory far away in order to escape conflict with the local environment. "Reserved participation" in the expectation of a further move is due to the desire for improvement and, especially, advancement both functionally and socially. The first industrial job is accepted as the first step in a process of vertical mobility. This pattern of adaptation may be less common among workers in firms established in the country than among migrants to the town, whose motivation is perhaps more evolved. The absence of data compels us to remain content with hypotheses and to await the results of comparative studies of transfer on the spot and transfer to an urban centre far from the point of departure. The most marked signs of this form of adaptation are easy provisional acceptance of work conditions without trade union participation and relative optimism as to the chances of vertical mobility. This type of adaptation may be confused with the first owing to its passive nature, except for the fact that this passivity is not due to habit and lack of ambition: on the contrary, it is the sign of looking outwards and towards the future. More thorough knowledge of the evolution of adaptation would make it possible to see how these attitudes change in the face of time and reality.

Although the first and third patterns of adaptation ("contraction" as against "expansion") may lead to adequate individual adjustment to industrial work, they do not make for collective equilibrium in the firm; they are based on the absence of participation, which is prejudicial to group dynamism. Certain types of adaptation are, however, even more inadequate and detrimental to social adjustment and to individual development, sometimes bordering on social or individual "disease"; among others, there are "imitation", "parallelism", "isolation", "pathological inactivity" and "oscillatory" behaviour. In adaptation by imitation the subject adopts the new behaviour formally but not functionally. The farmer buys a watch but continues to go by the sun - there is often reinterpretation of the thing adopted; keeping the right proportions in mixing cement is interpreted as being economical rather than safe. In parallelism, the farmer adopts two systems of behaviour at the same time for the one situation: he follows the doctor's prescription but cancels out its effects by recourse at the same time to some form of magic. The individual may adopt the way of life of the industrial world by assimilation but take refuge in complete isolation with regard to his old environment: this kind of defence mechanism by withdrawal or antagonism demonstrates the difficulty of achieving sociability in the event of change, especially if it affects only a few individuals in the surrounding group. This adaptation by isolation is typical of a partial adjustment: good adjustment to the social and cultural pattern of industrial life but bad social adjustment to the immediate surroundings. "Pathological dissatisfaction" is the most extreme form of non-participation: the worker has received technical training or abandoned agriculture for his first industrial job but after, or shortly after, his apprenticeship, he gives up working and becomes idle. Oscillatory adaptation verges on the pathological: caught between two conflicting interests, the farm and the factory, the individual does not succeed in making a definite choice and resolves his difficulty by alternating (which could still be adaptation if it were automatic) or permanent hesitation (which is a kind of maladjustment, as it excludes anything involuntary).

B. LONG-DISTANCE TRANSFER

We have tried to take stock of facts and experience with regard to the transfer on the spot of agricultural workers. We have been talking of bringing industry into a rural environment; we shall now concentrate on the transfer of people of rural origin to an urban industrial setting.

In the first case, the factory, in the second, the human being is the external factor in the transformation of environment. Migration occurs at different levels. The movement may take place for example within the same social and cultural sphere of a country where differences are mainly economic; such is the case with the transfer of Bretons to Paris; vocational transfer is associated with urban immigration. This transfer to a town industrial environment may be complicated by a change of cultural background. If the cultural backgrounds in question are part of the same unit of which they are only particular expressions, we may speak of cultural distance between the areas of departure and arrival. This industrial and urban transfer with "cultural shift" is met with for example inside the same country, as in the Netherlands or Sicily where groups of different ethnic or religious origins live side by side. But migration may be between two cultural spheres which may not differ in form but which are more like distinct civilisations than cultures, e.g. between a traditionally Moslem region and a modern Western urban centre, or, as in Greece, between a village in Thessaly and a city like Salonika. Such transfer no longer implies a cultural shift but a complete cultural change. It takes the form of migration inside countries with a traditional civilisation, which are in the course of economic development, or of international migration to countries with industrial expansion. It is absolutely necessary to distinguish clearly between these forms of urban industrial transfer. In order to differentiate them more distinctly and compare them in the following description, we shall have to risk some repetition in the remarks made on each of them.

Economic development and control of long-distance transfer

In the situation previously discussed, where farmers transfer on the spot to industry, the control of mobility could be envisaged owing to the setting up of firms in a rural district. In the case of migration, control no longer covers the source of employment (firms) but the workers. Migration of workers does not usually take place spontaneously in the way most appropriate to the development of the country or countries concerned. Two risks are inherent: over-concentration in certain of the urban areas chosen, draining of the population and economic deterioration in the rural areas left behind. Migration can begin in areas which traditionally export manpower: regular currents are established between these areas and certain industrial regions, accompanied by some return phenomena. In other cases, migration is sudden and this is the form most dreaded for the economic equilibrium of the regions abandoned (in Southern Italy for example) and, depending on the economic circumstances, for the emigrants in the towns to which they go. Areas of emigration are not generally those it is most desirable to give up cultivating. In some areas with a surplus of agricultural manpower, combined with stagnation and marginal production, migration does not take place and a number of reasons are put forward for this: attachment to the traditional environment, absence of any incentive to change, too low a level of economic activity to save the cash needed by a migrant, half-hearted recruitment in localities difficult of access.

Distant countries, for which recruitment is psychologically easier, are preferred to areas with a need for new blood. This is the case already cited in Germany, where European manpower is imported, and in France, where country folk from the Abruzzi are recruited for jobs offered to Bretons: paradoxically, international immigration may replace instead of supplementing internal immigration. International immigration is, in general, at once easier to instigate psychologically in countries which suffer from under-employment and to regulate authoritatively by administrative and legislative means on the part of the migratory authorities. The legislative control of internal migration is generally difficult: a conclusive example is provided by Italy, where the migration regulations inherited from an authoritarian regime and now superseded did not prevent a semi-clandestine immigration to the large towns in the North.

The principal means of controlling internal migration in the departure area are still propaganda, guidance and recruitment aimed at regions with surplus agricultural manpower. This implies a precise quantitative and qualitative assessment of manpower surpluses, as in the case of regional development. Private and official recruiting officers must be kept continuously informed of the geography of surpluses if canvassing for migration is to be directed to appropriate areas. Finally, a balanced division of poles of attraction can be found in the distribution of urban development centres: the method employed here is no longer that of anchoring or the piecemeal recuperation of manpower on the spot, but that of control by short-distance attraction. The greater the distance between reserves of manpower and the jobs, the greater the risk involved in bringing them together. To overcome this difficulty, recruitment is sometimes directed to the very source of availabilities to avoid a spontaneous and uncontrollable movement. At the point of arrival, the risk of haphazard immigration resides in the shortage of manpower in regions of full employment or in a surplus in urban centres of attraction near under-developed areas. In the latter instance, it becomes a question of under-employment. In practice, transfer becomes merely a move from agricultural to urban unemployment. The flow of immigrants creates absorption difficulties for the surplus of urban manpower and equipment: the ecological pattern becomes unstable, thus giving rise to maladjustment to urban surroundings, and acute rural under-development is transplanted to an urban setting.

One point should be emphasized: the creation of industrial employment in a rural setting seems a less provisional method of recruitment in the event of urban over-employment, although it is not without its dangers; workers drawn to industry by a local firm may decide after an initial period to move to the town. These workers are once and for all won over to industry but lost by the firms which drew them to it. These chain transfers provide further proof of the need to regard mobility as a dynamic process, to be studied not as a simple two-sided transfer but rather as a series of jobs over a lengthy period of occupational life (2 - p.23).

Motivation and the intention to migrate

It might be thought that migration is usually the consequence of a more deliberate decision than that which leads to an industrial firm installed locally. We would like to enlarge on the nature of this decision. In a case of local transfer, the two alternatives are directly perceptible and the possibilities of return to the former agricultural state are very great, except in the case of a farmer who has switched his capital or broken his agricultural contract to go into industry, when deciding to migrate the subject knows what he is leaving and is relatively ignorant of what he is going to find. In deciding to migrate inside an under-developed region or to emigrate blindly abroad, the migrant decides on the town first and it is only after he is installed that he tries his luck in a particular industry. Although the spontaneous impulse may be encouraged by several people following the same trend, thus giving the migrant a feeling of collective security, and by being received by a member of his family or of the same community, the uncertainty is still great. Transfer to an urban industrial environment in an economically developed country is attended by less risk. The duration of the migration and the nature of the employment are generally decided on in advance. To avoid disappointment and in order also to make arrangements for moving his family, the migrant may allow himself a trial period during which he can return more or less regularly to his rural home and, if necessary, change his mind again. This restricted kind of decision by provisional contract is typical of temporary migration schemes. It is to be met in cases where the break with the rural sphere is particularly difficult. The son of the Irish freehold farmer leaves with the declared intention of coming back to settle down in his village but in reality he never does. The fact that this intention is not carried out calls for two interpretations, i.e. that there has been a change of plan during subsequent adaptation or that there had been a half-measure decision for solving the difficulty of a situation of insecurity or a conflict of aspirations. It is interesting to note that this rationalising mechanism is sometimes adopted by the family left behind: the farmer accepts the departure of his son as provisional, although he does not return; although the act of moving must be analysed in terms of reserved or definite rejection of the situation at departure it must also be understood in terms of plans or projects(1). The plans of temporary migrants are paradoxically enough framed in terms of the probable return. Temporary Greek emigrants show some vestiges of the choice met in the case of local employment on a building site. Indecision at the beginning is caused by wondering what to do with the savings accumulated when working abroad or whether to use this period for acquiring vocational training to be applied on return. The mobility scheme may be aimed at economic betterment and social advancement. This second aspect is probably more rare in the case of transfer without migration than in the case of internal migration. It might be thought that, in the case of a switch on the spot, a great many workers yield to the immediate urge for economic improvement. The psychological and material investment needed is negligible; the profit is high. On the other hand, an act of geographical mobility is less passive and often more trying; the expense involved may be compensated by the expectation of social improvement. In one of the conclusions of his study, C. Boekestign notes that the workers in the rural area considered likened themselves to the social group immediately above and tended to move to the nearest urban centre where the social layer to which they aspired could be met. It is possible that those workers in factories set up in rural districts who aim at vertical mobility leave their first local industrial job to begin a process of migration likely to satisfy their ambitions.

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(1) This concept and this term, with its phenomenological connotation were proposed and explained with particular clarity by A. Touraine in his study "Ouvriers d'origine agricole" (Industrial workers of agricultural origin), Paris, Seuil, 1961.

The consequences of the absence of openings for promotion inside a firm have been mentioned earlier. Isolated industries in a rural environment are often the branches of a central establishment situated in a town: their channel of promotion implies a geographical move; it may not be impossible that certain workers will take a job in the decentralised factory with the intention of leaving for promotion in the central establishment or in a district where employment vacancies are more qualified. It may also happen that workers whose first adaptation took the form of passive familiarisation become gradually imbued with the prospect of vertical mobility, which means that they will have to leave the countryside. It is not impossible that some workers who do not seek promotion inside their firm in the rural setting, even if offered in the ordinary course of events, nevertheless go to town to find a place in the social and occupational group "immediately above", but in which they will not make further progress. The possibility of immediate advancement as a factor that might influence geographical mobility after transfer to the factory has not been scientifically investigated. The attention of observers and research workers is concentrated for the moment on motives for transfer and the conditions of initial adaptation rather than on indications as to the vocational development of rural workers. Specific analysis of these indications will no doubt come as the transformation of the industrialised rural environment makes further progress. Nevertheless, information will have to be forthcoming on this point before any disturbing influences develop that might lead to a drift away from the industrialised countryside. Businessmen and planners are already examining the influence of promotion possibilities as one of the factors in coming to a decision on whether or not to set up industrial plant out of town.

Plans for a move may be thought out for a long time and give direction to an urge to move covering several generations: the migrant, and the worker going over to local industry, may space out his hopes for economic improvement and social promotion over two generations. If it continues after migration, this urge transferred to the children may be the rationalisation of a disappointment: being unable to satisfy all his hopes, the migrant passes them on to his offspring who may find better occasion to realise them. The significance of this urge transferred to the children increases the importance to be given to the influence of the family in the psychology and sociology of transfer. An interesting illustration of this mechanism of transference is provided in the comparison made by M.S. Simons

(23 - p.5) in his study on several generations of families who immigrated to Eindhoven. He noted better adaptation to the industrial situation between the second and third generations in rural families emigrated from the North. In contrast, adaptation is much more rapid in the pilot group of natives of the region who transferred on the spot; it takes place between the first and second generations but is less good in the long run both dynamically and from the standpoint of both social and occupational advancement. It is to be supposed that the natives, who first answered the call of transfer on the spot, adapt quickly, and with no idea of advancement, by passive familiarisation. Migrants, on the contrary, whose transfer took place as part of a long-term plan for long-distance transfer, adapt slowly but more dynamically in spite of the difficulties connected with the great changes encountered over the generations. It is noted in particular, and generally accepted that these migrants have taken care to provide better vocational training for their offspring in the third generation.

The process of psycho-social adaptation

The preceding remarks and reflections on the "mobility plan" will help to elucidate the "process of adaptation". In migratory transfer, the transition phenomena appear in greater relief than in local transfer. Migration to an ecological and cultural environment already in existence causes a sudden uprooting. The social environment of the family and the community is not disturbed by local transfer but changes only gradually; in this case, the transition phenomena, real though they may be, are not so striking; such smooth transition may not necessarily be the best for all that, as it may never oblige the transfer group to take definite shape but may keep the industrial worker group "fluid" within the agricultural group. The awkward condition of competition in the same person between agricultural and industrial work might then appear. Adaptation would seem to pass through two transitional phases in migration (23 - p.4). In the first phase, the migrant adjusts his conduct to the basic requirements of the new situation. The second phase, which is longer, will witness the process of more complete adaptation to the work environment and that existing outside. This process may vary in length and, as we have seen, its success is above all dependent on its gradual rather than on its immediate character.

Although gradual, satisfactory adaptation nevertheless takes place in a fairly short time (23 - p.5). Immediate adaptation may be a sign of superficial adjustment by passive familiarisation with the work or by social isolation; passive familiarisation may conceal the disintegration of interior life and a certain pathological social inertia; isolation, on the other hand, masks the former life unchanged. An unduly long transition implies that ties with the former environment and way of life are too strong to allow adaptation to a new kind of existence, and the old way of life tends to perpetuate itself. To sum up, good adaptation passes through a first phase of elementary adjustment (imitation, parallelism, conformity or isolation); this phase is followed by that of deeper adaptation of the personality. This cannot be too sudden as it would imply rigid preservation or disorganised destruction of the old factors regulating personal behaviour. Stabilization cannot be delayed too long either, as adaptation risks becoming a state of permanent crisis. Nevertheless, while psychological adaptation (internal equilibrium) must be accompanied during this period by occupational adjustment, complete social adjustment may be expected at the end of the process covering several generations - for example, the migrant may not be able to attend classes to bring his standard of education up to that of his neighbours but he may look after the linguistic and vocational education of his children.

This gradual nature of social adjustment has been noted by observers. Professor Pizzorno followed the adjustment cycle of rural migrants in North Italy in a large urban centre. At first, migrants who immediately adopted the behaviour at work expected of them differed from the native group by their habit of saving and under-consumption and by their attitude of non-participation in a collective worker life, especially trade unionism. Then, the saving habit was retained but worker participation became active. This type of adaptation is original and results from the two different cultures experienced on departure and arrival. The complete assimilation of some individuals implies a change in both the norm of consumption and saving and that of participation in the collective working life.

The development and result of the process of adaptation depends largely on the relations between the migrant and the receiving groups and the isolated or collective, and particularly family, nature of the migration. Movement in groups lessens the impact of the break with the environment of departure. Family movement offers the great advantage of the geographical transfer of an already formed primary group. A group of bachelors, for example, does not possess this characteristic as it did not exist before transfer and can scarcely be regarded as a structural unit. In the home environment, a group of independent people, such as bachelors has more needs than it can satisfy alone: it may make claims or demand interpersonal relations but can offer nothing to the receiving group. The family, on the contrary, is a socially productive unit for its members and for its surroundings alike. It can represent solidarity in the neighbourhood and does not content itself, like ordinary groups, with representing the sum of the needs of individuals who are regarded outside their work as mere social consumers. It gives the head of the family authority to make up for his new dependence in the work environment. It is a means of avoiding social and sexual conflict internally and between persons: it spares the married migrant worker frustration, wandering, disappointment or a too easy tendency to overwork in his new environment; it facilitates relations for the children of migrants, who are not simply looking for social partners as they can find marriage partners inside their own group or offer the receiving group partners from the migrant group. The family is a more difficult unit to move from the original to the immigration environment, but this difficulty is also valid in the opposite direction. Families become better attached than isolated individuals whether they arrive in a group or separately. The practice of the head of the family exploring the ground is current in the transitional period and seems useful as it gives family transfer the appearance of greater freedom of choice. This practice is particularly important in the international migration of workers from regions of traditional social culture. In the case of complete cultural change, which exercises strong social pressure on the migrant group, all-male solidarity groups are sometimes formed (Algerian workers in Europe, for example), fostered by certain cultural norms involved in the exchange. The functional value of these groups should be estimated in order to decide how long they should last before the families immigrate. A gradual mixing is also possible, and it is necessary to see what system of social relations is set up in this situation and its effect on collective adaptation.

The role played by the shape of migrant groups must be explained in terms of interaction with the receiving group. Forming a group of workers has an amplifying effect on all the reactions involved in a transfer: resistance to or encouragement for the movement at departure; settling down or tendency to return on arrival, and risk of forming a minority group with the consequent reactions of the receiving group. In particular, while the movement of family units seems of social advantage both for the individual's internal and for his external adaptation to the environmental group, it is nevertheless necessary to recognise the effects of regrouping families and their relative dispersal in the receiving environment. Grouping families furthers the creation of a closed society where cultural originality is exacerbated as a reaction to being cut off from the group of origin and as a defence against the receiving group. This situation was analysed in Northern Italy, where immigrants from the South were concentrated in central districts of the town. Such segregation may begin a cycle of reciprocal hostility between the two groups. The ecological aspects are of importance: optimum distribution cannot be found in any single system but in composite models which take account of the various social dimensions of the situation. It may be a question of racial as well as social disparity. One composite formula might be to disperse small lattices of immigrant families in the native group nearest to it on the social and economic scale; we might then expect the effects of family sociability and the intermixing of families of both groups, but backed nevertheless by the presence of an immigrant group to which recourse becomes less frequent with adaptation. This form of association might explain the observation made by M.S. Simons of more rapid adaptation in small or medium-sized towns (23 - p.4). Several major obstacles oppose any kind of fusion: the mass arrival of migrants (23 - p.5), excessive cultural difference between the two groups and a hostile attitude by the receiving group. In such circumstances, equilibrium can be expected after a longer period while avoiding fusion. From the ecological standpoint, groups of independent individuals show the same pattern of adaptation as the family, at least in part. The primary social units may take the form of groups living together and their settling in a given location is similar to that of families; they may also be a collection of isolated individuals, in which case environmental conditions are very different. In all cases (migration by independent individuals or by families) several major obstacles hinder fusion: mass arrival of migrants (23 - p.5) excessive cultural difference between the two groups and radical exclusion of the outsiders by the receiving groups. If this be so, equilibrium can be expected only after a longer period, avoiding fusion during an initial period in order not to start a vicious circle of discord, reducing the social, economic and cultural gaps between the two groups by transforming the outside group, and encouraging appropriate social and educational action. Treatment of the situation must always allow for the continuous and dynamic nature of the process, as mentioned earlier.

When arranging for the installation of the migrant, greater attention must be given to receiving structures and groups than to the migrant group. The transferred group must find certain factors enabling it to satisfy certain essential traditional needs. These factors are not necessarily reproduced in the same folk form as in the original environment. On the contrary, the change of form may pave the way for real adaptation by creating an "original socialisation"(1). Migrants from Mediterranean countries to Northern Europe do not find the kind of open-air meeting place so typical of their original setting. Climate and customs differ too much between Mediterranean and the North Sea. It is however possible to arrange for meeting places where this need for expansive sociality may be satisfied within four walls, although the sense of fulfilment will then be quite different from its now impossible traditional form; thus, in various ways, migrants can satisfy their basic needs and aspirations. Social arrangements should be worked out and put into effect to meet the requirements of the migrant group: more instructors for rapid linguistic adaptation, interpreters both at the place of work and elsewhere, welfare assistance, collective leisure activities the same as or equivalent to those of the country of origin. These needs may be assessed from a separate survey of psychological needs, traditional ways of satisfying them and the means available in the receiving environment.

Preparing the receiving group may involve propaganda, personal contacts, before and after transfer, between individuals and between leaders of the two groups (sporting events, exchanges between social organisations or cultural and ideological exchanges). A complete coverage of practical methods already used might help to inspire organisers at the receiving end.

Social reception directly undertaken by firms outside working hours is resented as a form of dependence. Observers of such situations recommend firms to help with local community action rather than to interfere in the private lives of the workers.

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(1) The term was suggested by R. Descloîtres.

Special attention should be given to differences in the adaptation process of men and women in family migrations. For women it is more difficult when they have no outside employment; this aspect has been studied in Northern Italy. The action of women, isolated in their new environment because of their lack of contact with the working world, helps to maintain a strict adherence to traditional habits. Immigrant women, through their household functions, seem to have the effect of preserving certain basic cultural behaviours and values. This influence may have positive effects by avoiding some disruption of the social personality of the migrants; when it takes the form of a defensive attitude against the new environment, it may become an obstacle to psychological and social adaptation. In the case of immigration of Greek families to Western Germany, it was noticed that women who had given up agricultural employment, coupled with housekeeping duties, in order to take up industrial employment were better satisfied than the men and were against returning to Greece with the prospect of reverting to their previous situation. Generally speaking, however, it is not yet possible to say whether the action of women employed in industry has made for a disruption of social personality or to say what family conditions of employment favour the best adjustment. The importance of the influence of women in adaptation makes special studies urgently necessary for actions of mobility organisation.

The question raised here reminds us once more that adaptation is not to be studied only from the point of view of the individual but with reference to families and larger groups.

Forms of psycho-social adaptation to new environments

In the case of the geographical transfer of rural manpower, the conditions of adaptation to the new job differ from those of local transfer owing to the cultural gap that might exist between the migrants and urban workers. Local transfer introduces only a change of norms of employment based on an identical culture for all workers. In transfer to a distance, however, the migrant may have to face at the same time a new industrial pattern and the new racial, cultural pattern of the majority of his fellow workers. He is an outsider on three counts: in industry, because he was country-bred; in the factory, because he is a newcomer; and in working circles, because he is a stranger to the town. The worker group may adopt various attitudes towards him as a result of these three factors. An Italian immigrant may be called "peasant", "greenhorn", or "Italian". The fact of this three-fold change calls for extra planning of adaptation in the technical sphere: we have already mentioned this in connection with industrial transfer in a rural setting. Elementary technical training is, of course, essential, but working arrangements should also take account of linguistic difficulties and provide the necessary means of communication by composing work groups systematically to include the indispensable interpreter or interpreters.

In this type of migration, we find the same psychological adaptation as appeared when analysing industrial transfer in a rural setting. The transitional period may give rise to great tension, aggressive reactions and emotional explosions, which show that much control is needed. In addition to such outbursts, the migrant may have phases when he feels a kind of "social and subjective vacuum" (23 - p.3). This aspect reveals the importance of provisionally maintaining certain cultural values of origin with the aim of avoiding the destruction of a personality perhaps supported only by one or two precarious habits induced by the work environment in a completely changing system. We come across reactions of withdrawal with technological adjustment to work but without social adjustment or participation in working class life. In particular, there may be absence of solidarity with regard to the observance of norms of output expected of the workers. Migrants motivated by profit and used to hard physical labour may try to exceed average output at the risk of imposing a higher rhythm. Social withdrawal is made easier by isolation of the migrant group in the form either of exclusion from the native group or of collective introversion. Other forms of adaptation may be mentioned such as receptiveness to new environments. Any tendency to radical assimilation then encourages social intergration but may provoke conflict with the transferred group itself - conflict between different generations often adding to natural family conflicts. Conflict with the transferred group may combine with the internal personal conflict of competing values, the system inherited from the original group being repressed or abandoned at the price of a costly break-up of personality. Radical assimilation, with its rigidity and extremes, is therefore harmful to true adjustment to a social situation which is naturally in a constant state of flux. It alienates values inherited from the migrant group - values which could help to build an original pattern containing a nicely balanced synthesis of factors borrowed from the two cultures. It is to this adaptation by "original socialisation" that the most successful processes seem to lead, the criterion being a twofold independence on integration into the new group and independence in belonging to the original group.

III

METHODS OF RESEARCH ON THE ADAPTATION OF RURAL WORKERS TO INDUSTRIAL WORK

A glance at the nature of the problem of adaptation and what is already known about it in Europe would reveal, if that was still necessary, the state of profound ignorance about facts of great moment today and solutions which are very urgently needed. Collation of the points of view illustrated by the here mentioned researches will enable us to isolate the fundamental characteristics of the methods of research proposed, in order to be able to explain the reality of the psychological and sociological adaptation of rural workers to industry.

We shall define in turn the questions of method raised by:

- the choice of facts;
- the observation of facts, and the methods employed;
- the systematic planning of original or dynamic research;
- the forecast value of research;
- the matter of explaining the facts (and applying the information).

The choice of facts

Referring to the combination analysis of transfer situations sketched out in the chapter on the problem studied, it will be noticed that all transfer situations are far from being systematically covered or even touched on by modern research. The scope of study depends on the immediate possibilities of exploration and on the urgency of social problems in the various countries. The systematic choice of study to cover all situations would also have the advantage of supplying fully comprehensive information and directives for social action.

The theoretical details cited here should make it possible to define more precisely the nature of the facts concerning adaptation phenomena. To assess adjustment presupposes first of all a survey of the norms of the various groups in terms of which this adjustment is estimated. The measurement of adjustment assumes observation of the traits of external adjustment to the various situations encountered in terms of the different changes of environment involved in the transfer. The description of psychological adaptation calls for psychological investigation of internal behaviour which can be either introspective or projective. Of course, types of behaviour must be studied first. It is certain, however, that many studies have only been able to investigate attitudes. This limitation is due to the material restraints, especially with regard to time, put on observation: an individual "stores" his attitudes and can express them in the short space of an interview, but his behaviour, even in these hectic days, continues to be spread out in time. Analysis of these attitudes helps to assess the adoption norms by the various groups concerned in the transfer. With their help, we can pinpoint the system of values at any given moment and the forms of internal reaction to groups. The study of aspirations and plans specifically concerns mobility and can be expected to explain a good many reactions to change, instability, advancement or inertia for example. It is not enough to take note of plans and behaviour; the main thing is to define types of evolution: adaptation has a psychological origin and a social history. It is a process, not a change of condition, that must be grasped.

A channel of investigation must be found that will cover all the dimensions already considered when analysing the theoretical problem of change; adaptation should be judged under all its aspects: physiology, economics, personal relations, occupation. Although more attention may be given to one particular aspect, none of the others must be completely neglected: the individual and collective aspects of phenomena are, however, the most important to remember. We look for the signs of individual adjustment or adaptation, but we also look for the signs of group adjustment or adaptation. In the process of individual adaptation, we note, for example, crises of depression or aggressiveness, or a feeling of social vacuum; the same sort of phenomena can be found at group or community level: existence of gangs of potential delinquents or the creation of "cafés of idleness", or habits, the origina and perpetuation of which are more easily explained at group than at individual level. This difference between group and individual adaptation may call for separate studies; in some, the population is seen as made up of individuals; in others, it is composed of groups. For example, a sample of individuals can be studied to see the effect of the change of work on habits; on the other hand, village groups in a large urban immigration centre. In this respect, a French study (2 - p.22) is based on the observation of departure movements in a sample of 36 villages made up of a first random sample of 90 communes, taken from migration areas in France defined by the demographic statistics services. With this in mind, research workers unanimously stress the importance of studies for the guidance of the family group and not merely for the individual worker alone.

The observation of facts, and the methods employed

The most usual practice is to have recourse to interviews and questionnaires. Even if the interview tries to reveal something other than attitudes and self-described behaviour, it is impossible to speak of observation, and it must be remembered that the interview is a method of detection rather than a method of observation. This method has its own importance for understanding attitudes, aspirations and thymic conditions. Real behaviour cannot, however, be followed with any great certainty except by direct observation, the subject himself being a bad judge and an unreliable recorder of his own conduct. Direct observation of individuals being even more costly than group observation, the research mentioned is practically confined to overall observation of a community, such as the analysis of medical and pharmaceutical statistics in a rural part of Thessaly that is now being transformed, with a view to following the evolution of public health. The disadvantages of using a questionnaire are particularly marked with populations having a traditional culture and but little prepared socially for this type of investigation; dissimulation seems to be strong whenever it is used and the negative impact on the population may compromise the continuation of the study. The sensitivity, validity and reliability of the questionnaire in grasping adaptation phenomena still cause difficulty even if the public are inclined to be helpful in replying. We shall return to this question of the reliability of the questionnaire. To make up for any lack of sensitivity, it is either framed on broader lines or else the conventional form of interview is used; nowadays, it is remarkable to see the development of a tendency to use an even freer method in the shape of the non-directive interview (Dubost 2 - p.22), developing for several hours from one opening question such as, in the case quoted: "Some stay, some go; can you talk about their reasons?" Difficulties as to choice of method (questionnaire, free discussion, direct observation) again crop up when considering how to make use of the material collected. A new open technique has also made its appearance in this respect, at least in the preparatory phase of a standardised method of research: group discussion to bring out attitudes, opinions and social reactions, thus supplying hypotheses for research and interpretation, and material for the wording of questions (2 - p.29 and 2 - p.22). A mean of open expression has appeared in two studies now under way (one in France and the other in Italy), quite spontaneously and without mutual consultation beforehand, i.e. free composition by school children on the subject of departure. At the same time as exploration and measurement methods, used directly with individuals in the population studied, indirect methods of group study are applied, similar to ethnographic methods i.e. discussions with leaders and special informants, study of folklore and documents.

These methods of research are adequate to the study of the psychological and social processes of adaptation. The description and measurement of social and economic conditions is based on methods which should highlight the standardisation of observations and their representational scope. For instance, the study of surplus rural manpower in Germany implies the use of short questionnaires on work conditions and their impact on a typical group; representation is covered by two kinds of survey: exhaustive and sample surveys in areas which are homogeneous.

The variety of the methods used emphasizes the many-sided nature of the movement of rural manpower to the industrial sector. It is evidence of the interest of the study of transfer from several angles and, more particularly, of the forming of research teams representing the different branches of social science.

Systematising Research

The studies referred to here are generally case studies, limited in space and time. Much of the research is on populations and restricted groups interviewed at a given moment in the process of adaptation. Scope for comparison is also very limited; facts recorded in the group studied are often related to general observations made on the population as a whole. The natural complexity of the transfer studied, on the other hand, makes comparisons of adaptation processes necessary in different situations. This presupposes the search for natural experimental situations where transfers occur in comparative conditions similar to those in a laboratory. It is very difficult to find situations where one variable may be isolated for each group. In studying transfer in the Eindhoven area (23), a pilot group was composed of workers transferred locally who could be compared with workers brought in from the North. The strictest care was taken to make the research comparative. Nevertheless, the geographical conditions of transfer often imply that two groups may represent very different religions and cultures. The interference of different variables makes it impossible to reduce the very interesting effects noted to a given factor: it is difficult to know to what extent this is due to long-distance or to local transfer, to the religious variable or to the regional cultural variable. This interference explains the caution with which the author interprets his results. The vagueness of the results obtainable by comparison between the migrant group and the fixed pilot group is unfortunately bound up with the nature of the transfer: the migrant population rarely emanates from the same economic, social and cultural sphere as the group which has been transferred on the spot. These difficulties do not appear in the Kiruna project (2 - p.43), where geographical transfer is in a homogeneous area.

The fundamental condition of adaptation is, as we have seen, its development in time. This dynamic aspect governs the methodological approach and in particular that of preparing observations, which must be recorded as a series and not simply at one moment as in the study of a great many social phenomena. As in all genetic research, the process must be studied throughout its duration (longitudinal) or in cross-section (transversal). For the latter, the same individual or the same group are followed throughout the process. Observations are perfectly matched but the study is long: risk of loss is high and the initial (departure) sample must be larger than that expected on arrival; the experiment's influence on adaptation behaviour is not negligible - this is the well-known "panel effect"; the reliability of the research method used is particularly difficult to assure. I. Erixon mentions the difficulty of interpreting variations in replies to a questionnaire filled in by the same subjects on two different occasions during the survey period. These may be due to ambiguity in the questions, but also to a change in attitude or even to the effect of repeating the experiment (similar to the panel effect) or the momentary mood when the questionnaire is filled in again. These effects are not easily controllable in the case of a questionnaire and the question still remains of the adequacy of this method or its replacement by an interview which would make it possible, for example, to isolate a pattern for the different attitudes shown. The longitudinal method tries to isolate the different forms of the process of adaptation and the effect of the variables which act on it by observing different individuals or groups who arrived at different moments during its duration. This has the advantage of being able to concentrate on a relatively short period and obtain quick results. Against this, the variables observed are not matched, the groups studied are independent and it is much more hazardous to keep the variables under control. The Swedish study at Kiruna (21 - p.11) illustrates the transversal approach. The French project (2 - p.22) illustrates the longitudinal approach in a composite form. The latter usually has the advantage of making it possible to check on many more individuals, as they are not chosen at the same stage of the process, at the same "age in the process" but, on the contrary, at different stages. The accessible population is greater but adaptation conditions may vary considerably from one group to another.

In fact, many studies have not had to cope with these difficulties as the "before-afterwards" examination of the process often boils down to "afterwards" only. Subjects are questioned who have undergone the process of transfer when the transfer is already well advanced. The study is, theoretically matched, "cross-section", but it is handicapped by two limitations: it is retrospective and introspective. The subject is asked to supply information about himself concerning an adaptation that has already taken place. The study is not always retrospective, however. It then concerns the static result of adaptation "afterwards" but gives no dynamic information. This kind of less ambitious study is nevertheless more rigorous: it makes it possible to say who is adapting, under what conditions, or in what way. Only research based on a method similar to continuous observation can, however, take account of the very dynamics of behaviour in psychological and social adaptation. In this sense, it is useful to install local observers specially trained to record departure phenomena in a village, as conceived by J. Dubost (2 - p.22).

The forecast value of research on transfer

Two major objectives hold the research workers' attention: to discover the social conditions favourable or unfavourable to adaptation in the departure and arrival areas. Recognition of difficulties in the arrival environment can make it possible to correct the conditions or structure of reception, and to direct transfer towards those centres which are most likely to foster a progressive adaptation. Recognition of difficulties inherent in the departure situation makes it possible to change these conditions or choose the groups or individuals in terms of their aptitude for adaptation. The desire to select individuals may be expressed in some studies by a "technical psychological" approach, which is remarkably well illustrated and discussed in the project of J. Oorburg (2 - p.35). The independent variables capable of influencing adaptation are applied to each individual: transfer situation (original background and type of environment, region and firm on arrival), personal characteristics (considered in terms of general adaptability). These variables can be kept under control by using a sample that will allow for each of them (22 - p.9). The dependent variable is formed by the pattern of adaptation. It gives rise to the search for an adaptation criterion which is economically manageable when forecasting. This dependent variable (adaptation) is arrived at by a statistical analysis of the relations between the elements of adaptation indicated by a number of replies to questions on adaptation, either individual or collective. The essential core of the criterion as evoked by J. Oorburg consists of a scale ranging from an effective decision to return to simple nostalgia. This main standard will be reinforced by its many correlations with the elements of satisfaction, type of contact maintained with the old environment, etc. By relating the general criterion, considered as a sign of adjustment, with the independent variables recognised in a first clinical exploration, it is possible to discern the predictive variables. This practical approach is of interest to research workers engaged in assessing manpower surpluses. With this end in view, German research workers (2 - p.7) are now working on a method for judging the real mobility motivation of workers and not just the potential mobility situation, with the greatest possible margin of probability. The assessment of potential surpluses of rural manpower in Germany has so far been concerned with the exterior influences favouring a possible move, such as that of a temporary employee or a married women without a job; the degree of accuracy is measured by the relation between the potential surplus as recorded and the numbers actually transferred, as shown by a subsequent general census; they would now like to attain greater accuracy by also taking into account subjective influences leading to a possible move.

Methods forecasting individual adaptation deal far more with social adjustment than with psychological adaptation. They depend on the use of a standard that is statistically economic and flexible and which can have maximum validity owing to its objectivity. The validity of the method of forecast (choice of variables, forecasts and criterion) is always affected by the risk of transformation of the environment in which it is to be applied. The method may be employed at a time when the conditions determining adaptation behaviour have changed, for example, with the development of new social norms. This may happen in migration to the larger towns: urban saturation could theoretically have a discouraging effect on country people where the value of "life in the country" would, by going up, change all the conditions for motivation and forecast.

Another normal kind of transformation of the environment is provided (22 - p.9) by the continuous depletion of categories open to persuasion to move and the increasingly risky application of the standard to residual populations whose size and nature affect the calculation of the probability of adjustment.

Synthetising data

Information of two kinds is needed to apply the material derived from observation: one kind concerns the factors influencing adaptation; and the other concerns the form taken by adaptation. In both cases, it is a matter of condensing piece meal information to make a synthesis. The factors which influence adaptation may be found by correlating the different variables chosen. In actual practice, the search for these influences can simplify the matrix of correlations found between the variables. The processes of condensation which are common nowadays are proposed or used by research workers in studies of this kind. The cluster analysis used by I. Gadourek(1) and C. Boekestijn (20) makes it possible to sketch in several variables acting in the same direction; this analysis regroups the variables but they can still be identified. Analysis of the factors enables a plan to be drawn up of correlations which are too numerous for their collective meaning to appear at first sight. This kind of analysis provides a posterior check on hypotheses of organisation, if not the explanation of the results (22). The factors isolated are new by comparison with the relations they cover; they are not merely a regrouping of relations like the clusters.

The form of adaptation is dealt with by a second category of methods for applying the results. Among these methods, some are aimed at providing an instrument for measuring the level of adaptation. Guttman scales are most often used. They are one-dimensional and cannot be used for estimating adjustment, understood in the multi-dimensional sense already discussed. Adjustment can only be measured with a Guttman scale if it is seen in a sense as restricted and operative as that suggested by J. Oorburg (22 - p.8) in terms of "urge" to move. On the other hand, the different degrees of adjustment or adaptation assessed by using several scales can help to outline adaptation and make allowance for its multi-dimensional nature. Methods establishing weighted scores used to assess the criterion (22 - p.8) answer the same purpose of correlating the different aspects of adaptation. Analysis of the factors may also help to identify the main channels of adaptation. These scales form a satisfactory specific instrument for assessing the value and norms of the groups affected by the transfer and for getting to know the mutual attitudes of the migrant and the receiving groups. This aspect has been separately analysed in the Italian study (C.R.I.S., referred to in an Annex).

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(1) I. Gadourek: A Dutch Community, Leiden 1956.

The outlines sketched with the help of various scale ranks generally call configurational methods to mind as being the clearest way for describing kinds of adaptation as it is mainly a matter of describing patterns of behaviour. These methods have a bearing on the application of data supplied either by questionnaire or by interview. Recourse to methods of open observation is motivated by the need to bring together many related details on the same individual. The use of such a cumberson procedure as the non-directive interview is justified only if combined with a method of application which as far as possible restores the psychological facts to their organic rather than their dismembered form. The present tendency to use charts indicating the whereabouts of the facts collected may be explained from this angle. The structural nature of representing the means of adaptation is essential in the description of individuals, but it is just as necessary in dealing with the adaptation of social groups. The techniques of structural description used by economists or representatives of the school of structural and cultural anthropology can supply psychologists and sociologists with methods and adaptable instruments.

Adaptation cannot, however, be described merely as a state of mind. The most evolved structural representations of a static pattern of adaptation can do no more than show the resultant aspect of a process. It is even more necessary to describe the dynamic aspect. Investigation of patterns or types of evolution re-introduces the time dimension which is essential to the adaptation of an individual or a group to a new situation. It is in connection with the study of the "pattern of evolution" that the French project (2 - p.23) analyses types of individual, social and vocational evolution and summarises the collective itineraries forced on rural workers leaving agriculture for other employment.

IV

LESSONS AND PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

The present state of knowledge compels great caution in formulating recommendations. There are not enough studies to allow for generalisations on the practical conclusions suggested when examining particular cases. It is as difficult to deduce rules for practical action as theoretical conclusions in a field with such a wide range of situations. The suggestions and recommendations given here are very general and apply more to factors to be taken into consideration in any action envisaged than to specific ways or rules of application. They hardly go beyond the level of a theory of practice as they are dependent on preceding developments which were themselves hardly more than the formulation of a theoretical problem.

- The first recommendation is, therefore, to be cautious in following the advice in general matters of research workers or experts. Actions should be avoided in cases for which they were not intended.

We will consider the suggestions emanating from the study of the problem and the experience gained on the development of the process of adaptation.

A. THE CHOICE OF DEVELOPMENT MEASURES

- Knowledge of the social, economic and demographic structure of rural areas is indispensable for guiding development decisions, particularly the choice between "leaving the countryside without leaving agriculture" and "leaving the countryside for the town".
- Knowledge of the areas of potential surplus of agricultural manpower and their development may avoid some immigration of foreign or distant manpower to congested urban centres.
- The assessment of surpluses of rural manpower must be made with an eye to optimum regional development;
    - this implies, in particular, defining optimum development structures (for example, pockets grouped around a semi-urban centre), determining their size and the cost of equipping them.
- The measurement of surplus manpower may be qualitative and include the vocational skills hidden in rural manpower.

- Assessment of the degressive costs of equipping the infrastructure in terms of its forms will make it possible to guide decisions on development structures.

- A list of industries and a survey of firms likely to offer seasonal or part-time employment may be particularly useful to the development of regions where it is wished to maintain an agricultural labour force.

- Where manpower of agricultural origin is employed on temporary industrial work, it is necessary that, at the time of their signing on, the employees should be informed of the temporary nature of their employment, and they should be given advice as to the use of the extra income earned to buy equipment either for the household or for the family farm. Advice might also be given on the expediency of a change to industry after the temporary job.

- The factors to be measured and the methods used to assess development and adaptation conditions will differ according to the various cultural and economic levels of the areas affected by change.

- The training of industrial manpower of rural origin calls for vigorous action upon two populations (the school age-group, and the adult) and is applied at two levels: basic education and vocational training.

- As in the case of technical training, the instruction given in schools in a rural environment, whether ordinary schooling or basic adult education, must take account of the economic future and be based on syllabi designed to cater for the possibility of change: industrial change, urban development, migration.

- In ordinary schooling, guidance on the needs of mobility must be provided before the end of the primary stage.

- The technical training of adults is all the more effective if chosen to cater for available vacancies, if it is associated with placement and assistance arrangements and if opportunities for in-plant training are provided in the newly acquired occupation.

- Development problems necessarily include the various aspects of town planning. Definition of the optimum forms of development implies the determination of the needs and social norms of the life of the groups affected by the change and, in practice, calls for the help of experts in human and social relations when drawing up plans for improvement and development.

- Town planners have to reckon with groups coming from town and country. The respective needs of these groups must be distinguished and taken into consideration when adapting the reception structures.

- Intermediate reception structures may be worked out to suit different periods of adaptation. Special types of dwelling may be reserved for groups which have only recently changed over to industrial life, in preparation for their installation in structures which presume a higher degree of adaptation to the finally desired forms of social life. It is necessary to design structures to provide a gradual education to a new ecological life.

B. LOCAL TRANSFER OF AGRICULTURAL MANPOWER TO INDUSTRIAL WORK

- Transition arrangements presuppose the preparation of a favourable cultural atmosphere for modernisation and industrial work. The traditional agricultural environment must be modernised before industry is introduced.

- The importance of possible effects of disintegrating the agricultural environment due to the unadvised introduction of industrial firms provides arguments in favour of the priority to be given to the preparation of modernised agricultural structures capable of receiving industries.

- The importance of conflicting agricultural and industrial activities, which is a source of maladjustment with rural workers recruited in regions where the agricultural structure necessitates family over-employment on the farm, focuses attention on the structure of rural areas where it is proposed to set up industries. This risk of conflict supplies another argument in favour of preparing a climate and scope for agricultural modernisation which will make for the adjustment of manpower through the simultaneous adjustment of economic, agricultural and industrial structures as for instance, an ideal situation in which farmers combine together to buy a tractor just at the time when a factory opens and employs the sons freed from unprofitable labour in family agriculture.

- The conditions for advancement inside a firm may have repercussions on the recruitment and stability of the firm and the region. These should be taken into account when deciding to install industry and when deciding on the form to be given to the decentralisation of branches of expanding firms, i.e. vertical production units with the possibility of hierarchical promotion inside the factory or horizontal units with possibilities of promotion in other branches of the firm. The consequences of the second solution should be studied: by serving as a steppingstone for promotion in town, a firm may help to drain the area where it is installed of its best workers.

- Arranging a process of transition should be a major object of attention. The transition period passes through apprenticeship to the new industrial situation.

- Vocational training cannot be regarded as a process preceding or outside employment. A period of initiation and send-off in the transfer must be given as much importance as school-type vocational apprenticeship.

- Participation by leading personalities may encourage local development in its early stages but afterwards hamper that development, which they may no longer be capable of controlling.

C. MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL MANPOWER

- With regard to the departure area, the principal means of controlling internal migration are still propaganda, guidance and recruitment in regions with surplus agricultural manpower as near as possible to potential and desirable sources of supply.

- In the case of migration as in the building of a factory in rural surroundings, it seems that the entry of industry can start a process of vocational instability (Irish migrants) which should be carefully studied. The workers are gained to industry but not necessarily to the firms which originally attracted them.

- Geographical mobility must be replaced in the context of social mobility: workers would tend to migrate to join in a social and vocational group "immediately above". The influence of this possible factor and of a possibility of promotion to the next grade on geographical mobility before and after the transfer to a factory needs to be studied systematically.

- The family factors in the situation have an important influence on adaptation:

    - the transfer of family units seems favourable to the process of adaptation;

    - the head of family going to explore the ground beforehand seems often favourable to adaptation. This habit should be considered in organising international migration, especially that of workers from regions culturally very different from the reception area;

    - the optimum ecological distribution of migrant families in the receiving environment may be varied and composite. Their choice should take account of a great many factors: racial difference, cultural gap between the migrant and the receiving groups, reciprocal welcome, relative and absolute numbers involved, social habits of the two groups.

- The importance of the preponderant part played by women in the social adaptation of families must be taken into account when considering reasons for the transfer and the process of adaptation. The part played by women as active guardians of certain aspects of the original culture or as hostile conservative elements must be determined in the light of the family reasons for the transfer, the social and ecological integration of these women into their new environment and, where applicable, their former employment in agriculture and their new job in industry.

- Social reception should be arranged:
    - social equipment should be planned and installed for the migrant group: more instructors for rapid linguistic adaptation, interpreters at work and outside, welfare assistance, collective leisure activities, etc.
- The satisfaction of migrants' needs should not necessarily be sought in their original folklore. Equivalent ways of satisfying needs and essential aspirations may be envisaged.
- The satisfaction of these needs may be sought through a differentiated survey of psychological needs, traditional ways of satisfying them and the means available in the receiving environment.
- With regard to working conditions, arrangements should take account of linguistic and cultural difficulties and provide the necessary communication by composing work groups systematically to include one or more of the intermediaries indispensable for language and culture.
- The study of the optimum composition of work groups to integrate migrants should be systematically pursued. Migrant workers already integrated might be considered in particular as aids to adaptation.

V

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND EFFICIENCY OF RESEARCH

The participants in the seminar on rural manpower have taken note of the wish of the O.E.C.D. Member countries to raise the gross national product of the Member countries by an aggregate fifty per cent during the next ten years.

Convinced that the achievement of this target will call for a more rapid industrialisation in rural as well as urban areas, and that this will occasion an increase in the geographical and vocational mobility of European manpower, the research workers present consider that the question of adapting rural populations and populations being urbanised to industrial work should be solved in its entirety. In particular, this question cannot be approached solely from the point of view of vocational adjustment. On the contrary, it is necessary to consider all the social implications of economic development, so that research can also supply the Member countries with the elements essential to the formulation of their social policies.

The participants in the seminar consider that the questions submitted hinge on regional planning policies and that, in consequence, account must be taken of the results of research on adaptation not only for fixing, but also for putting these regional planning policies into effect. Whether for rural or for urban areas; they therefore consider that relations between the public authorities and research should be strengthened.

In view of the all-embracing nature of the social studies to be undertaken, the research workers insist on the need for forming and encouraging joint projects and teams involving several branches of study.

They also consider that the increasing interdependence of social phenomena means:

- first, that the projects and the results of regional and national research should be systematically communicated to research workers in the various countries for collation;
- second, that phenomena implicating several countries should be studied by international working parties with a view to co-ordination.

As a matter of practical urgency, the participants agreed, as a result of these considerations, to make the following recommendations:

A. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND RESEARCH

Assess the following points:

- how and to what extent are the public authorities kept informed of the results of research;
- what research has been asked for by the public authorities;
- what research has been put into practice by the public authorities;

B. RELATIONS BETWEEN RESEARCH WORKERS

- Encourage national research in several branches of study.
- Encourage exchange of research workers from the various European countries.

C. PROPOSALS FOR IMMEDIATE STUDIES

Discussions among the research workers engaged on this study have shown the urgent need to devote particular attention to certain aspects of the questions raised. These include:

- the distinction to be made between adaptation processes, depending on the level of social and economic development of the areas and groups concerned;
- the importance of the social adaptation of workers to their reception environment, without which vocational adaptation is neither possible nor understandable;
- the part played in the transfer by the family and particularly by the womenfolk and the need to study adaptation from the point of view of the family as well as the individual;
- the prime importance of town planning and accommodation conditions to obtain the required adaptation as part of a regional development;
- and, among other conditions, the influence of the distance between place of residence and place of work in the various mobility situations.

In view of these requirements and the limited possibilities of research, a small number of projects have been approved as suitable for immediate execution:

(a) Proposal for international general information on the adaptation of agricultural labour to industrial work.

This proposal for establishing an "inventory of research projects and measures, concerned with the adaptation and training (transformation) of rural workers - Problems and tasks, categories, methods". A practical project is given as an annex.

(b) Proposal for joint international research on "adaptation and vocational, social and cultural training on the intra-European migration of rural workers employed in industry". This research proposal is given in full as an annex.

(c) Proposal for parallel national research on "introduction to vocational apprenticeship". Such a study should take current or completed work into consideration so as to avoid risk of duplication.

(d) Proposal for co-ordinated national research on the adaptation of agricultural populations in terms of the urban reception arrangements provided for immigrants.

The aim of such research is to bring out the influence of the various types of living accommodation offered to migrants in towns on their adaptation to social and working life. It will make clear the relative effects of suburban living conditions as distinct from accommodation in a central urban area. Such a study of town planning conditions to facilitate the adaptation of populations of agricultural origin would provide practical information useful for the progressive installation of migrants, for assessing the effects of commuting and for urban improvement conceived in relation to the human needs of employment under a regional development scheme.

VI

MOBILITY OF RURAL MANPOWER IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

The following constitutes a digest of the fuller report published on this question(1). It has seemed worthwhile to pass on the findings of the economists who have considered the economic and demographic aspects of rural manpower mobility. The findings provide a development of that part of our report dealing with the economic aspects of adaptation and a confirmation of the psychological and social remarks stressed in the text. This twofold reciprocal check should give additional validity to conclusions reached from two different approaches without the disadvantage of unnecessary repetition or duplication.

NOTE BY THE DIVISION FOR TECHNICAL ACTION (O.E.C.D.)

In the 1959-60 agricultural programme of the European Productivity Agency, there was included a project to examine the "Economic Aspects of Under-Employment in Agriculture". The co-ordinating institute for the activity (Forschungsstelle für bäuerliche Familienwirtschaft e.V., Frankfurt/Main, Germany) made a survey of the prevailing situation, and in the report considerable attention was given to the difficulties of elaborating a common method for determining under-employment. Certain basic explanations are attempted in the report including a definition of under-employment together with its limitations. For the purpose of the study under-employment is defined as the excess of labour available over the volume of labour required for a certain level of production under given agricultural conditions.

Before the opportunity arose to examine this report at an international meeting and in order to finalise it, the importance of this particular problem in relation to economic growth became more acute. A meeting of experts was therefore arranged in Paris to consider certain of the problems connected with mobility of agricultural manpower in relation to economic growth. The report of the survey was therefore used as the basic documentation for this meeting. The experts considered papers on methodology of measurement of under-employment, evaluation of requirements and organisation of mobility, and movement of labour both within the agricultural industry and into other occupations. The expert group also took the opportunity to consider briefly problems connected with adaptation and training of rural manpower in industry.

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(1) Document AGR/T(62)25

The expert group stressed the importance of having suitable statistical data in order to make accurate measurements. It was considered that, in this respect a variety of methods of measurement would be needed to meet particular conditions and specific problems.

In recognising the difficulties of adjustment, two headings are apparent:

1. How to facilitate out-movement of people from agriculture and their absorption into other sectors of the economy.

2. How to deal with the changes in population structure and farm organisation which will result from a movement of people out of agriculture.

In the case of the first problem, clearly, education, information and opportunity are the necessary prerequisites. In the case of the latter problem three suggestions were made to ameliorate the situation:

(a) Inducements to encourage farmers to retire early.

(b) Schemes to encourage an increased internal mobility of labour particularly to encourage farmers sons to work off the parental farm.

(c) Encourage part-time farming.

The meeting considered that the whole problem was of such importance in view of the prominent position of agriculture in relation to economic growth that mobility of labour must be kept under constant review. Finally it was thought that the problem should be viewed from an international rather than a national setting and that the O.E.C.D. should support investigations on this topic and should consider work in this field to be an integral part of its activities in promoting economic growth.

Digest of the report of the experts' meeting in Paris on 16th and 18th May, 1962, organised by the Division of Technical Action of the Food and Agriculture Direction of the O.E.C.D.

INTRODUCTION

Under-employment in agriculture is a problem common to most countries. It is associated with lower real incomes in agriculture than in other employment and results in movement of a sector of the population out of agriculture. A recent report(1) indicated the widespread nature of the problem and the great variations in both under-employment and mobility of agricultural people which occur between countries and regions at different stages of economic growth. In addition, the report emphasised the lack of comparative data and the need for methods of measuring under-employment and mobility.

Realising the importance to Member countries of under-employment in agriculture, O.E.C.D. initiated an investigation into methods of measurement. Dr. Priebe, of Forschungsstelle für bäuerliche Familienwirtschaft, undertook the task of elaborating a common method of determining agricultural under-employment in Member countries and of co-ordinating information on under-employment obtained by an O.E.C.D. questionnaire sent to the rapporteurs of Member countries. Dr. Priebe's report indicated that measurement of under-employment was complicated, and that there was inadequate data currently available, on which to make reliable inter-regional comparisons. Furthermore, Dr. Priebe considered that, before such comparisons could be made, it would be necessary to standardise concepts of under-employment in the different Member countries and to undertake fact-finding surveys.

Whilst realising the importance of accurate data, O.E.C.D. considered that the march of events in E.E.C. and associated countries was such that policy decisions could not await the completion of elaborate surveys extending over a number of years, particularly when changes were occurring so rapidly that such surveys may well be out of date by the time they were analysed and published. E.E.C. countries have adopted a 50 per cent economic growth target, and it was felt that the whole problem of the use and mobility of agricultural manpower should be reviewed in relation to economic growth. The object of such a review would be to highlight the problems likely to arise when assessing the part agricultural manpower could play in plans for general economic growth, and to suggest ways of solving these problems. Consequently, it was decided to broaden the whole basis of Project 7/14-II and to convene a group of experts to meet and discuss "Problems of Mobility of Agricultural Manpower in Relation to Economic Growth". This meeting took place in Paris on 16th, 17th and 18th May, 1962. Prior to the meeting the full report by Dr. Priebe was circulated as a working document to the participants, in order to provide a background to their deliberations.

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(1) "Why Labour Leaves the Land". International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 59, Geneva, 1960.

Arising from the papers presented at the meeting and from the discussions which ensued, the Secretariat prepared a summary of the meeting and of its conclusions and recommendations(1). These are given on the following pages, together with the experts papers and a summary of Dr. Priebe's report.

It must be emphasised that this meeting was not intended as a definitive study of the whole problem and consequently it was not exhaustive in its treatment of the subject. Moreover, all the papers were related to conditions in countries which had passed beyond the first stages of economic growth and all the experts came from these countries. As a result, most of the discussion was concerned with problems in such countries and not with the agricultural manpower problems of under-developed countries. Consequently the conclusions arrived at by the experts will be more strictly applicable to countries with developed or partly-developed economies than to those with under-developed economies.

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(1) The Secretariat was assisted in the preparation of this document by Messrs. Thomas, Smith, Michele and Nalson. A provisional draft was presented to the final meeting of experts and modifications to the draft suggested by the members present have been incorporated in the final document presented in this report.

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS

A. UNDER-EMPLOYMENT AND THE OBJECTIVES OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Mobility of agricultural manpower is a very important facet of the problem of general mobility of the total active population in the course of economic development. On the one hand, mobility is desirable in order to reduce the degree of under-employment in agriculture and, on the other hand, the growth of non-agricultural enterprise needs to draw upon the agricultural population for a supply of labour. Depending upon the stage of economic development which has been reached, under-employment in agriculture is manifest in different ways.

At the one extreme, where the economy is under-developed, a high proportion of people are employed in agriculture and there is a high ratio of labour to land and other resources. Under this situation, those of working age have insufficient work to occupy them productively for more than a small proportion of the working time available to them. This is clearly a condition of under-employment of human resources and also a situation in which poverty prevails amongst a large section of the population.

To improve the economic conditions under these circumstances requires the concurrent development of both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy and agricultural policy must be closely integrated with general economic policy. There are some regions in this situation in which the population suffers from malnutrition and others where the demand for food will continue to be extremely high for many years. In such areas, in order to create the conditions whereby mobility from agriculture to other occupations can occur, a precondition of general economic growth is an increase in agricultural production as well as an increase in productivity per man employed in agriculture. Furthermore, there needs to be an integrated policy for the non-agricultural sector which will lead to greater job opportunities for those who can potentially be released from agriculture. Without such policies, there is little point in either attempting to measure the degree of under-employment or in considering methods (such as structural reforms or mechanisation) which raise the productivity of labour in agriculture. To release labour from agriculture in the absence of growth potential in the non-agricultural sector of the economy would merely convert agricultural under-employment into rural and urban unemployment.

At the other extreme is the situation of the economically advanced countries or regions. In these the active agricultural population is a relatively small proportion of the total active population. In absolute terms, agriculturalists in these areas are much better off than those in the under-developed regions, but their incomes may still be low by comparison with people in other occupations in the same economy. One of the main causes of this condition of relatively low agricultural incomes is too low a rate of mobility from agriculture to the non-agricultural sectors. In addition, low average incomes in agriculture as a whole arise because of differences in incomes within agriculture, in that certain types of farming or certain agricultural regions, are less prosperous than others and manpower does not move freely enough within agriculture.

It was generally agreed by the experts that the achievement of equality of real incomes between farm and non-farm occupations was a major objective of agricultural policy. Several methods of achieving this end are currently practiced in the national policies of Member governments. These range from methods of support for farm prices by direct subsidies, government purchase or restriction on imports - to programmes of aid for structural changes and to methods of increasing the outward mobility of agricultural manpower. However, in so far as methods of price support currently lead to an expansion of the supply of farm products at a rate faster than the demand increases, they have the effect of perpetuating the problems which they try to alleviate. They also involve continued and increasing transfer payments from the non-farm to the farm sector. Policies designed (a) to alter the structure of farming, (b) to increase the mobility of farm people and (c) to fit them better into non-farm employment, provide the only rational solution in the long-run to the problem of farm incomes.

If a national solution is to be obtained to this problem of equalising real incomes between farm and non-farm occupations, it is necessary to determine first what the size of the agricultural industry should be, taking into account the dynamic forces of demand for farm products as the economy grows. Only then can we attempt to assess the future size structure of farms and the degree of out-mobility which will be required in order to give farm people the possibility of earning incomes comparable with those in the non-agricultural sector. More research work is urgently required on the future place of agriculture in the economy of Member countries and on how to achieve greater mobility of manpower within and out of agriculture. It is already clear, however, that progressive decreases will be necessary in the number of people employed per unit of land, if equality of real incomes between agriculture and other occupations is to be achieved over the long term.

In the past, the number of people entering agriculture has been too high and the net rate of mobility outwards has been too low. It is recognised that the barriers retarding the rate of egress are economic, social and institutional in origin and it is considered that policy should be concerned with methods of reducing these restrictions.

B. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DETERMINATION OF THE EXTENT OF UNDER-EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

The question arose of how to estimate the quantity of labour which can reasonably be made available from agriculture for use in other sectors of the economy in relation to successive stages of economic growth.

There is inadequate statistical data available at present on which to base reliable estimations of the demand for or supply of labour in agriculture. The meeting considered that, if reliable measurements were to be made in the future, it would be necessary to collect suitable data in each of the Member countries and to analyse this data by methods appropriate to particular stages of economic growth.

It is evident that under-employment in agriculture is the potential source of labour for other sectors of the economy, but that the availability of this labour varies with the stages in economic growth in the regions concerned. In a less developed region, much agricultural labour is unemployed and thus free to take up other employment, if such employment is available. In a highly developed region, on the other hand, employment opportunities may be available, but labour from agriculture may not be readily accessible without changes in farm organisation and structure.

Because of these different aspects, the meeting considered that the methods adopted for measuring under-employment would differ according to the particular circumstances for which information was required. Comparisons between regions, or countries, at different stages of economic development could be made if suitable demographic and economic data were available about their farming population. Study of past trends in regions at a more advanced stage of economic growth may provide useful indications of the likely trend of events in regions currently at an earlier stage of growth. In certain cases extrapolation of statistical trends for particular regions may provide useful indications of future developments. Such rough estimations give an idea of the magnitude of the problem in particular regions and are of especial use where under-employment is most acute and more detailed information is not available.

It was evident from discussion that a dynamic approach to the measurement of under-employment is necessary where the release of labour from agriculture depends upon changing farm structures and organisation and upon making adjustments in associated sectors of the economy. Such an approach would need to take account of present and projected future standards for labour use on a regional or type of farming basis and would require detailed demographic and economic trend data about farm and non-farm population and production.

During the course of discussion it became apparent that the deficiencies in present information often mean that hypotheses can only be very tentative about demographic changes, the volume of agricultural production in the future and the changes which may be possible in farm structure and organisation. Consequently any estimations made will need periodic revisions as further information becomes available. Furthermore, non-economic factors can have considerable influence upon whether people in agriculture are, in fact, willing and able to leave either the occupation or even their home area. For all these reasons, then, aggregated data, of whatever type, needs to be critically interpreted when used as a basis for economic planning and there is an urgent need to obtain more information and to further refine our research techniques.

C. OVERCOMING THE DIFFICULTIES OF ADJUSTMENT

These can be considered under two headings:

(a) How to facilitate the movement of people out of agriculture and their absorption into other sectors of the economy.

(b) How to deal with the changes in population structure and farm organisation which will result from a movement of people out of agriculture.

(a) Facilitating movement out of agriculture

A reduction in agricultural manpower can be achieved by measures designed to prevent excessive entry of young people into agriculture and by incentives designed to encourage some people already in the industry to leave it. Three prerequisites necessary to encourage such movements away from agriculture are:

Education - Information - Opportunity

Education

Frequently the education facilities available to children living in rural areas are inferior to those in urban areas. Consequently, such children lack the basic education necessary to enable them to benefit from training for occupations other than farm work. Moreover, the interest and experiences of farm reared children tend to be confined to farming, due to the lack of vocational training for other occupations in the schools, together with the participation of children in farm work on family farms.

In some countries the local control of education militates against changes being made in the type and quality of education offered to rural children.

Vocational training for occupations other than agriculture should be encouraged in rural schools and at the same time vocational training for agriculture should be adapted to the changing circumstances. Thus, in those regions where there are too many young people entering agriculture, emphasis on vocational training in agriculture should be reduced and, wherever agriculture is taught in schools, stress should be placed on future prospects for farming as compared with other occupations. Furthermore, there is need to provide vocational training in other occupations for adults, particularly those who, for lack of other opportunities, have started their working career in agriculture and have remained in it until they wish to marry. Such young people are often too old to be accepted for ordinary apprenticeship schemes, even if, as married people with family responsibilities, they could afford to sacrifice time and income in learning a new trade. In the absence of training facilities, these people on leaving agriculture often have to take unskilled jobs well below their inherent capacities. To encourage such people to train for a new skilled occupation, it would be necessary to ensure that financially they did not lose by spending time in training. Consequently, financial support for themselves and their families would be necessary during the training period.

Information

Rural people often lack information on the resource requirements and rates of return on work and investment in modern agriculture and on opportunities in other occupations. At present, many who enter agriculture have inadequate knowledge of the level of income which they can expect from it now and in the future. In addition, the need for adequate capital and for formal training is frequently not appreciated by potential entrants to agriculture. Similarly, those wishing to leave agriculture may be inhibited from doing so by lack of information concerning the changes in work and residential environment entailed in making a move away. Those who do move away without adequate knowledge of alternative opportunities or living conditions may have difficulties in finding other work or in making adjustments to their new environment.

Vocational guidance through a youth employment and counselling service for school children and through a specialised advisory service for adults could do much to ease, and encourage, the transition from agriculture to other occupations. If adequate information was available, farm people could make the choice between agriculture and other occupations with prior knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages involved in choosing one occupation or the other.

Opportunities

If people are to be encouraged out of agriculture, other occupational opportunities must be readily available. These can either be provided locally or the people themselves can be transferred to centres of employment. Under some circumstances, transfers of population will be the most feasible way of bringing people and job opportunities together and, under other conditions, it will be necessary to locate industries in close proximity to areas from which mobility out of agriculture is considered desirable. Whichever alternative is adopted, it will be essential to have close co-operation between those concerned with the transfer of people out of agriculture and those concerned with the recruitment of people for other occupations.

In areas where under-employment in agriculture is extreme, the pressure of poverty will force a proportion of the population into migration to centres of urban employment. Under these circumstances, measures are necessary to ensure that people have prior knowledge of opportunities and have received some general form of training to enable them to adapt themselves to other occupations. Moreover, provision needs to be made in the receptor areas for suitable housing, specific training, and guidance for the social adjustment of migrants.

The ones to leave agriculture from poor farming areas will tend to be the younger people and those not tied to farms by filial duty or inheritance expectations. Consequently, it may be necessary to provide alternative local employment for a proportion of those who remain, so as to raise family income and make people less dependent on their farms for all their livelihood. Small-scale 'craft' industries, light assembly work and encouragement of the tourist industry could be useful in these areas, where the ages, vigour and adaptability of the residual population would not be suitable for large scale industries requiring either specialised skills or long hours of work.

In regions where the disparity between farm and non-farm incomes exists, but is not extreme, the farm population is not under the compulsive urge to leave, such as occurs when poverty is rife. To encourage people in these areas away from agriculture, it may be necessary to locate industries within the areas or to ensure that sufficient transport exists for 'commuting' between such areas and centres of industrial employment.

It will be necessary to take a long term view when deciding whether to encourage industry into rural areas, either by direct subsidisation, or by the provision of good service facilities, such as roads, drainage, electricity and housing. The initial cost of such encouragement may well be greater than the cost of moving farm people to established centres of urban employment. Nevertheless, it may have to be accepted, both to encourage farm people to change their occupations in those areas where income disparity is not extreme and to avoid the social maladjustments which may arise when some sectors of the farm population, and particularly the older age groups, are obliged to change their area of residence and their whole way of life.

(b) Dealing with changes in population structure and farm organisation

It is clear from the reports of delegates that young people are more mobile than older people and that hired workers are more mobile than family workers, who are, in turn, more likely to leave farming than established farmers. Consequently, any programme designed to accelerate the movement of people out of agriculture would have effects on the age structure of the population which remained and on the composition of the farm labour force. There would be a higher proportion of older people in the farm population and more farms would be dependent solely on their family resources for labour. These two factors would be likely to have effects on the efficiency of operation of farms, due to the lower vigour and more conservative nature of older people, and due to the difficulties encountered on family farms in balancing farm business size, family needs and family labour resources at different stages of the family development cycle.

In addition to the effects on the operation of the farms, effects on the economic and social structure of rural areas would be likely to arise from any considerable movement away of the younger and more active people. There would be fewer people to pay for the maintenance, or establishment, of power, communication and social services, and social services, and social organisation would be affected by the lower numbers in the population and by its unbalanced age composition. Some of the problems of providing services will be alleviated in certain country areas by the settlement there of people from the towns; a settlement made possible by the increased personal mobility provided by motor transport. In such areas, new problems of social cohesion are likely to arise.

There are a number of measures which would help to counteract the farming difficulties. These measures are interrelated but, for convenience, can be considered under two headings:

1. Measures designed to increase the mobility of land.
2. Measures designed to increase the mobility of farm people and to alleviate distress without perpetuating the causal conditions of that distress.

1. Increasing the mobility of land

Land commissions or other appropriate bodies could be established to further the amalgamation and consolidation of land. These could have powers, on the one hand, to purchase and redistribute land, as it became available on the death, retirement or movement away of farmers and, on the other hand, to assist established farmers by loans or grants, to add to their existing land-holdings or to re-organise fragmented holdings in co-operation with their neighbours. The organisation, powers and mode of working of such land commissions would vary from region to region, according to the systems of land tenure and ownership and with the particular land and inheritance laws in operation in different regions. Their overall policy, however, should be to assist the natural process of change occurring when families owning or tenanting land die out through lack of an heir and to take advantage of any induced changes arising from policies which result in farmers or their children leaving agriculture for other occupations. Their objects should thus not be coercive ones of forcing changes upon unwilling farmers, but should be aimed at actively encouraging those willing to change and at discouraging the acquisition by the rising generation of areas of land of insufficient productivity to maintain a family in the future.

2. Increasing the mobility of farm people and alleviating distress

These measures could include:

(a) Offering inducements to farmers to retire early.

(b) Encouraging schemes designed to increase the mobility of labour between farms within regions.

(c) Encouraging migration of farmers and workers from overpopulated rural areas to those where there is need for farm labour or for new farmers.

(d) Encouraging supplementation of farming by industrial employment in those areas where the type of farming or the industrial conditions are suitable for this.

(a) Inducements to retire

These could take the form of retirement grants, provision of housing for retired farmers or for farmer's sons wishing to marry, and attractive prices offered by the land commissions to farmers contemplating retirement. Such inducements should enable farmers' sons both to take over from parents, and to marry, at earlier ages, and thus be in a position to operate their farms whilst they still have the vigour of youth. Also, with an earlier age of marriage, the parental and filial generation would co-exist for a longer period of time and thus the labour difficulties on family-operated farms would be eased to a certain extent. Where there was no heir to a farm, the early retirement of the farmer and the inducement to sell his property would facilitate the amalgamation of his land with an adjacent farm. Alternatively, if the farm was of sufficient size to support a family under the farming conditions likely to occur in the future, such a farm could be purchased by a Land Commission and offered to a suitable non-inheriting son of another farmer.

Retirement grants and attractive purchase prices for farms offered to a Land Commission should encourage the retirement of some farmers who otherwise may spend their latter years living in poor circumstances on farms which for lack of proper care and attention would deteriorate in productivity and value. Inducements to retire should alleviate the distress of such people, and, by placing the disposal of the land into the hands of a land re-distribution authority, it should at the same time prevent another generation of farmers from getting into the same difficulties.

(b) Encouraging internal mobility

Amalgamation schemes would increase the number of larger farms and therefore offer labour opportunities for farmers' sons. It would be necessary, however, to change the attitudes of many farmers and their sons towards the idea of working for other people. To do this would require co-ordination of vocational training for agriculture in the schools, adult education and advisory services, apprenticeship schemes and schemes designed to provide career scales in agriculture for suitably qualified farmers' sons.

(c) Encouraging agricultural migration

Migration from labour surplus to labour deficient areas is required both within and between countries. Such migration could be encouraged by the provision in surplus areas of vocational training and guidance about farming possibilities elsewhere by similar means to those advocated for encouraging migration to other occupations. Migration guidance officers would need to have knowledge of the finance, farming experience, and social attributes required by settlers and of where to find potential migrants most suited to these requirements. Policies for training, selection, movement, settlement and integration would need to be co-ordinated.

(d) Encouraging supplementation of farming incomes by other work

Location of industry in rural areas, and provision of transport to areas of employment, would encourage some members of farm families to take employment off the farms, whilst still residing on the farms. On the smallest farms this may mean that the farmer himself worked off and on others that sons or daughters worked off. Such supplementation would have two effects. Firstly, on the small farms where it occurred, it would help to balance up family income, labour resources, and family needs throughout the family developmental cycle. Secondly, it would have effects on the attitudes towards industrial employment of the farm people generally in the areas where it occurred. The presence of friends, relatives and neighbours in their local area who were employed at work other than farming, would create amongst farm people an environment in which farming was not necessarily considered the most desirable social or economic goal. This should facilitate the transfer of some of the younger generation from agriculture to other employment.

Siting of industry in rural areas would also help to create a balanced age structure in the population and maintain population numbers. This should improve the chances of providing public services to rural people and prevent deterioration in social organisation.

D. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The meeting was unanimous in considering that the problem of under-employment in agriculture is a very important aspect of economic growth and that the question of manpower resources in agriculture should be kept under constant review.

The experts considered that there is an urgent need for a reconsideration of the place of agriculture in relation to the general economic development of the Member countries of O.E.C.D. Furthermore, they considered that there is a need to re-orientate agricultural policies away from those which seek to raise or maintain relative incomes by price supports and trade restrictions and towards policies which will assist the process of adjustment in agriculture and between agriculture and the rest of the economy. In order to achieve such objectives, it was considered essential that factual information should be obtained about the present distribution of agricultural manpower, about its expected movements, and about the social and economic trends in the rest of the economy which are likely to influence this movement.

In the closer integration of the economies of Member countries, the problems of the allocation of human resources, including those associated with inter-occupational mobility, should be viewed within an international rather than a national setting. This requires common methods of approach towards measuring the magnitude of the problems and the means for their solution.

The meeting considered that the O.E.C.D. should consider that work in the field of mobility of people is an integral part of its activities in promoting economic growth and that it should give its support to the investigations, experimentations and practical actions on this topic which are urgently required in Member countries.

Amongst the most important subjects for support from O.E.C.D. are:

1. Investigations into the present contribution made to industrial development by manpower originating in agriculture and into the potential contribution which it can make in the future.
2. Specific studies of the social and economic factors influencing the migration and occupational mobility of farm people and integration of such studies into plans for similar investigations in other industries.
3. Forward-looking studies into the effects on the release of manpower from agriculture of changes in technology likely to occur in the occupation.
4. Studies of ways in which the structure of the agricultural industry can be changed to give equality of real incomes to agriculturists, and, at the same time, meet the requirements of economic growth.

5. Encouragement of closer collaboration in Member countries between the various bodies concerned with policies and programmes for agriculture, industry, labour, social welfare and the like, when initiating studies into labour mobility, and when carrying out programmes which have effects upon the use of manpower resources in agriculture.

6. Collection and circulation by O.E.C.D. of information about studies, experimentation and practical measures concerned with the mobility of agricultural manpower.

7. Advice, encouragement and assistance to Member countries, and to bodies within those countries, who undertake experimentation and practical measures designed to implement the conclusions of studies into the problems of agricultural manpower.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1

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- Segerstedt, T., and Lundquist, A.: Människan i Industrisamhället. Vols. 1 and 2, Stockholm 1952 and 1955. Attitudes towards work are mostly the same among industrial workers and white collar workers in industry whether they have grown up in towns or rural areas.

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APPENDIX 2

SUMMARY OF NATIONAL RESEARCH

GERMANY

Dr. Herbert Kötter,
Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie e.V., Bonn.

Dr. Jürgen Kraft,
Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft e.V., Gottingen

The problem of adaptation and training of rural workers is meeting with considerable interest in the Federal Republic of Germany, because it is so closely connected with the question of regional development. For this reason the report of the two German delegates representing the Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie e.V., Bonn and the Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft e.V., Göttingen, can only be an incomplete one. There are a number of other institutions doing research in this field. Particularly the Rationalisierungs-Kuratorium der Deutschen Wirtschaft e.V., Frankfurt, should be mentioned which has conducted investigations in different rural districts of the Bavarian Forest (Bayerischer Wald) on the south-eastern border of the Federal Republic. This research project the results of which are partly already published, deals with the problem of regional development including the transfer of agricultural workers to industry. Furthermore the Institut für Raumforschung, Bad Godesberg, has done some research in town and country planning being of interest in the context of this meeting. However the delegates are only in the position to summarise more intensively the activities of their respective organisations.

Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft e.V.

The Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft is a private and independent research organisation founded in 1946 for the purpose of conducting studies and applied research in the fields of social policy, social organisation and sociology of the countryside. Its particular aim is to encourage and conduct investigations, which offer results directly applicable to all measures of rural development. Specifically it has done research in the fields of agrarian structure, refugee settlement, industrialisation of the countryside, regional development, child labour in the countryside, infra-structure and costs of infra-structure, agricultural labour relations and standards, decline and problems of the decline of the farming population and comparative legislation in agrarian social policy. In addition to this the ASG attempts to inform the German public on rural questions by conferences, leaflets and a newsletter. The work of the ASG is governed by its membership meeting and its steering committee, on which public bodies, academic institutions, agrarian organisations etc. are represented.

In the particular context of this meeting, the ASG has completed

(a) Nine regional development plans in the states of Northrhine-Westfalia, Hesse, Schleswig-Holstein and Bavaria, of which 7 contain exact figures on manpower resources;

(b) Two studies on the industrialisation of the countryside, the short summary of which (with additional new data and several supplements) was given in the Groningen report;

(c) One study on infra-structure and the costs of infra-structure.

Presently the research programme of the ASG includes on this score as current projects

(a) Two regional development plans

(b) Two studies on the problems of infra-structure

Preparations are presently made for one further regional development plan. The emphasis of the work is on regional development. This follows from the particular nature of the German exodus from agricultural work and the specific policies adopted by the federal and state governments to guide this process into the channels considered to be beneficial to the national well-being and welfare. In Germany, on the one hand, a constant flow of rural people into the cities can be registered, for the 15 years after the end of World War II, while on the other hand the possibilities for an industrialisation of the countryside are good and should be utilised for stopping the further agglomeration. German governments and German public opinion agree to the extent, that an exodus from agriculture should not mean an exodus from the countryside and that the industrialisation of the countryside should be encouraged in order to arrive in the near future at a harmonious state of the national economy and a harmonious relationship between town and countryside. There are three reasons for believing that such a policy might be successful. First of all, there is a semi-industrial climate in many parts of the German countryside. Only a very few regions can be considered to be still predominantly rural in social and economic structure. Secondly, the process of agglomeration in the cities has not led to a depopulation of the countryside yet, as it is the case in some other European countries. Population figures of the countryside are either stable or rising even. And thirdly and finally, the present stage of national economic development does lead the entrepreneurs by their very interest to increase production to the discovery of the only labour resources still available, i.e. those part-time and small farmers, who hardly are able to eke out a living on their small plots, but are not registered as unemployed with the employment offices. Attachment to the soil does so far - to some extent - prevent large scale migration. In addition, it should be stated that obligatory professional training has, on the whole, provided for a fairly high level of technical education in the countryside, which is a prerequisite for industrialisation. Therefore, the problem of a transition of workers from agricultural to industrial professions, presents itself in Germany, the ASG thinks, as the necessity to get together:

(a) the labour resources still available;

(b) the interests of the national economy as a whole with respect to a harmoniously co-operating society, and

(c) the wish of entrepreneurs to enlarge production.

Henceforth the ASG considers the following problems to be paramount in this context:

(a) Improvement of agrarian structure.

(b) Adaptation of agricultural workers to industrial professions.

(c) Industrialisation of centres in the countryside.

(d) Improvement of infra-structure.

(e) Encouragement of rural housing.

There are a good number of obstacles, which has to be overcome, in order to facilitate this development, such as the lack of information of entrepreneurs as to the chances of industrial investment in the countryside, the absence of a municipal policy designed to facilitate industrialisation and attract capital, the great number of farms far too small to provide a family with an adequate return, the difficulties arising from a transfer to the more rigid and mechanistic industrial climate, the problems of long-distance commuting, the problems of social and cultural adaptation, the training of rural workers and the problem of satisfactory rural traffic connections, etc. ASG research work is distinguished by its stressing that, in order to overcome these obstacles, in Germany the process of adaptation and training of rural workers should be considered a part of the larger process of rural development. Research work has been conducted along these lines and will in future be guided by the same principles.

Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie e.V.

This research association for agrarian policy and rural sociology is a body of co-ordination of research in the above mentioned field representing a number of university institutes. It is a private institution unifying in its work several academic fields and conducting at the same time basic and applied research. The various institutes work according to a general plan in the different regions. There is a central office at Bonn, which is taking care of co-ordination. Between the Forschungsgesellschaft and other institutions working in the same field as e.g. the Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft exists a close co-operation.

The principal interest of the Forschungsgesellschaft is rural development. The rapidity of industrialisation and urbanisation has led e.g. to the result, that certain agrarian regions were unable to catch up with this development. There is the real danger, that the relative disparity between these regions suffering from unfavourable natural conditions, outdated agrarian structure and hence a considerable degree of hidden underemployment and the industrial agglomerations might even grow. The solution of this problem can only be found by the creation of additional or alternative occupations for the manpower surplus e.g. by industrialisation of these regions. The problem therefore includes in the first place the harmonisation of measures taken for the amelioration of the agrarian structure and the transfer of agricultural manpower to industry. In order to avoid a further decline of the economic and social structure and a further depopulation, the guiding principle is to implant industries as far as possible on the spot in small centres.

The Forschungsgesellschaft has undertaken several studies in this direction. We mention here

1. Industrialisation of rural development regions, Bonn 1957
2. Living and working conditions of employed workers in rural regions, Bonn 1958
3. Structural problems of development regions, Bonn 1959
4. Social and economic implications of industrialisation in rural districts, Bonn 1960
5. Available manpower as basic factor for rural development planning, Bonn 1961.

These publications and others mentioned in the activity report of 1960 can be placed at the disposal of those who might be interested in them.

At the moment the Forschungsgesellschaft in co-operation with six university institutes is conducting a comprehensive study of three backward regions: Bayerischer Wald, Rhön-Vogelsberg, Eifel-Hunsrück. The research plan includes such data as:

- Demographic factors
- Economic and agricultural factors
- Socio-economic situation of communities
- Infra-structure
- Measurement of agricultural labour surplus
- Economic capacity of the whole region
- Attitudes and behaviour of the population

The ultimate aim is to work out a general development plan. It might be of interest in this connection too that the Forschungsgesellschaft has edited a series of "Maps for the Orientation of Regional Policy" showing a coherent evaluation of data produced by economic, social and agrarian statistics.

FRANCE

Monsieur P. Albou,
Commissariat Général du Plan
d'Equipement et de la Productivité

Some investigations have of course been made in recent years into the attitudes and behaviour of ex-agricultural workers, and their reasons for entering the secondary and tertiary sectors. But research of this kind is not yet on a sufficient scale; it is still fragmentary and limited in scope. An attempt should be made to co-ordinate such studies and follow up the whole process of transfer, endeavouring to define at each stage and in each region the conditions and consequences of such movements.

This is the aim of the research programme now being carried out under the auspices of the Commissariat Géneral du Plan d'Equipement et de la Productivité. The programme, which covers metropolitan France on the one hand, and Algeria on the other, is outlined below. A brief account of it was given at the"International study session on the adaptation and training of rural manpower for industrial work", held at Beetsterzwaag near Groningen in September 1960. It aroused considerable interest, so much so that proposals were put forward for comparative research on similar themes to be carried out by other Member countries in co-operation with the French research teams, under the sponsorship of the European Productivity Agency.

The programme was approved by the Commissioner-General for the Plan, on a favourable opinion by the Permanent Commission of the French Productivity Committee. A specialised working party meets periodically at the Commissariat-General for the Plan to supervise the implementation of the various projects. It reports regularly on the progress of projects to the Joint National Committee for the Applied Human Sciences. The working party may eventually evolve into a co-ordinating body of broader scope, which would be responsible for the co-ordination of research and the training of research workers and be known as the National Institute for Rural Studies (INER).

I

Current research, to a very large extent multidisciplinary, is treated as an organic whole, and not as two successive stages of the "before and after" pattern(1).

Instead of considering starting point and destination separately, it is deemed preferable to examine the way in which starting conditions control or influence behaviour in the terminal environment and adjustment to industrial and urban living conditions. This is a concrete way of promoting collaboration in rural and industrial sociology within the framework of a definite research programme bearing on a problem of obvious practical importance; its object is to try to predict the social behaviour of workers of agricultural origin on the basis of a knowledge of their environment and original condition.

A. The problem to be studied

Opinion polls concerning the workers' reasons for leaving have already proved their usefulness as well as their limitations. What is wanted now is a genuine sociological survey of the original environment and not merely the psychological content of each individual decision(2).

To the question of how far the decision to leave the rural environment is governed by choice, a number of answers are possible:

(a) the worker may be obliged to go because there are no prospects for him at home; the youngest son of a family with no land to spare, there is no place for him on the family farm;

(b) the worker could stay, but there are no potentialities for growth in his original environment, from which there is a traditional drift towards the cities or industrial employment;

(c) the original environment contains possibilities for growth, but the worker prefers to change his job and way of life.

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(1) This chapter is very largely based on the report by Mr. Touraine to the Joint French National Committee for the Applied Human Sciences.

(2) The ternary classification adopted here is for convenience only; it is purely a formal device, and no claim is made to deal exhaustively with either problems or criteria.

This crude division into types, which needs to be further qualified, is merely given as an indication of the direction in which research should proceed.

Is it possible to relate these original conditions to types of transfer on the one hand, and behaviour in the terminal environment on the other?

Three broad types of manpower movement may be distinguished:

(a) short-distance transfers to specific under-takings. This is the case, for example, of a rural area in which a new industry is established, or of a region of traditionally mixed economic type;

(b) medium-distance transfers to large urban and industrial centres: the agricultural worker sets out to find a job in industry, but often with a less definite objective than in the previous case, and the break with his original environment is more complete;

(c) long-distance transfers; men going off to the city without in many cases knowing what type of jobs are available. In this case industrial work is looked on as no more than a stage on the way to other types of employment: government services, trade, etc.

What correlation is there between original conditions and types of movement and behaviour in the terminal environment?

B. Conditions of study

It would be as well to take an area in which communes of different economic and social pattern exist side by side. and from which short-, medium- and long-distance movements originate.

It is obviously impossible to find a situation which satisfied all the requirements of the problem. There will therefore have to be some degree of independence in the research projects to be co-ordinated. Nevertheless, the principal effort should be concentrated on one particular type of movement.

It has therefore been proposed to define a region in Western France from which there are migratory movements, either to local industrial centres like Rennes, where there is a big demand for labour at the Citroën Works, or to the Paris area.

A few typical Communes will be studied in each region Hypotheses based on these intensive studies will prepare th way for a more extensive survey covering a fairly large numb of cases.

At the same time, other researchers will investigate the terminal environment in an attempt to follow up the successive stages in the worker's initiation into urban and industrial life: the early months, the first year and subsequent years.

Besides the main research assignment, two additional points will be investigated.

(a) the transition from agriculture to industry in a region of mixed economy, in the case of a change of occupation within the same locality. As an example we shall take communes in the Roanne district where there are textile mills;

(b) a study working backward from the terminal environment to an analysis of the original environment. This is a matter of making use of two documentary sour sources already partly available:

1. interviews with candidates for the F.P.A. (accelerated vocational training scheme) already being organised by the C.E.R.P.(1);

2. individual case studies collected in the course of surveys of industrial redeployment, also made by the C.E.R.P.

C. Current research

1. A study of the selected original environment in Western France. The work is directed by Mr. Dubost (Bureau de Psychologie appliquée) who has had experience of investigating similar problems, especially in the Alps (in connection with Electricité de France), and has prepared a sample of communes which will greatly simplify the completion of this part of our programme. Without taking part in the work, Mr. Mendras of the C.N.R.S.(2) has agreed to keep in touch with it and act as adviser.

2. Study of short and medium-distance terminal environments. The work is directed by Professor Krier (Centre régional d'Etudes et de Formation économique) of the University of Rennes, who has had previous experience of work of this kind. It is being carried out in co-operation with the Bordeaux Institute of Applied Human Sciences.

3. Study of long-distance terminal environments. This work is being carried out in the Paris area by Mr. Parpik of the Laboratory of Industrial Sociology in the "Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes", which has already conducted a first enquiry into the attitudes of ex-agricultural workers.

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(1) Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Psychotechniques (C.E.R.P.)

(2) Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S.)

4. A study of inter-occupational movements in a mixed agricultural and industrial area (Loire département). Mrs. Moscovici of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique has already investigated some problems of changing family behaviour in this region. She is continuing her research, with a special emphasis on labour problems.

5. Interviews, and reconstruction of the previous vocational histories of ex-agricultural workers. This work is handled by the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Psychotechniques, more especially by Mr. Barbichon.

II

ALGERIA(1)

The need for industrialisation in North Africa has prompted a number of research assignments intended to throw light on economic and social development. Some of these assignments are being carried out by the Algerian Centre for the Applied Human Sciences (C.A.S.H.A.) at the instigation of the Commissariat Général for the Plan.

The main subjects studied are:

- general problems of urban development arising from the drift of Algerian peasant farmers into the industrial towns;
- internal migration in a developing country;
- urban changes caused by upsetting the ratio of city dwellers to immigrants, two categories of widely differing social and economic status and, what is more, belonging to irreconcilable cultural types (industrial society and traditional society) and in many cases different ethnic groups (Europeans and Arabs);
- the fundamental problems of the new city dwellers from the sociological and economic standpoints:
  - (i) underemployment;
  - (ii) housing /more precisely, a study of shanty towns (bidonvilles)/.
- a general review of these questions is given in the recent work: "L'Algérie des Bidonvilles (Le Tiers Monde dans la Cité)"(2).

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(1) Cf. note by R. Descloitres on the activities of the C.A.S.H.A.

(2) By R. Descloitres, J.C. Reverdy and C. Descloitres. Ed. Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, Mouton et Cie., Paris, 1961.

A. Method of work of the C.A.S.H.A.

1. In view of the dearth of previous work in the sector, and the lack of any basic documentation comparable to that available in European countries (especially statistics), the C.A.S.H.A.'s programme consists of general fundamental studies to prepare the way for more specialised work.

2. The need to investigate all aspects of social life is all the greater where the social groups studied are imperfectly known. Therefore the research must primarily be general in scope before going on to particular aspects. This is yet another reason why the work is very largely interdisciplinary.

3. Studies of industrial sociology or psycho-sociology in an underdeveloped country, where people still mainly belong to or originate in a pre-industrial society, cannot be carried out solely by methods and techniques already tried and tested in countries which have long been industrialised. Consequently, anthropological methods and techniques are widely used in all C.A.S.H.A. research and take precedence over the methods and techniques specific to each discipline.

B. Research work in 1961

The adaptation of rural workers to industrial employment is more subject in Algeria than elsewhere to variables unrelated to labour problems. In other words, the transition from a traditional form of society (nomads, mountain farmers engaged in arboriculture, etc.) to the large European-type city involves problems of adaptation to urban life of which vocational resettlement is only one particular aspect. Accordingly, priority has been given to the study of factors and conditions affecting adaptation to city life.

Two surveys are now in hand:

1. A study of the large newly-built housing estate of the H.L.M. type (low rental housing) called "Diar-es-Shems" (the "Sunshine Estate"). This consists of blocks of flats for the exclusive use of the Arab population, formerly housed in shanty towns. A special study is made of the behaviour of married couples in this type of accommodation, and of the effects of the new residential environment on the general process of adaptation, individual as well as collective (neighbourhood units, districts, etc.)

2. A study of a small shanty town (about 400 people) enclosed in the European part of Algiers. This social group was selected because of its location and long standing (nearly all the inhabitants under 35 were born there). It is a pilot group typical of the Urban Arab sub-proletariat and incidentally should help to define different stages in the process of adaptation to urban life. Among the specific subjects dealt with may be mentioned:

- relations to country of origin;
- inter-ethnic relations within the residential environment (district) and working environment;
- the influence of mass communications media (radio, cinema, press);
- class-consciousness;
- cultural conflicts.

The survey also naturally takes in problems of employment, income, etc.

To sum up

The above-mentioned projects form part of a general programme including:

1. determination of the major stages in the adaptation of rural workers to urban life in Algeria, in terms of thresholds (length of residence in the town, and so on) or factors such as ethnic origin, educational standards, etc.;
2. monographs as exhaustive as possible of the various social groups, with a view to better understanding of the problems of the new city dwellers;
3. more specialised studies of certain points, e.g. Arab female labour, immigrants' nutrition.

To be sure, the research listed here has its own specific aims: to reach a better knowledge of a complex social situation whose economic and psychological implications are of obvious importance. But it will also prepare the way for programmes of more rational, and therefore more efficient, action. For this reason, the Commissariat-General for the Plan has seen fit to encourage the co-ordination of this research while safeguarding the necessary freedom of those conducting it, endeavouring to reconcile this freedom with the indispensable programming by way of flexibly planned research in the applied human sciences.

I T A L Y

I. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE (C.R.I.S.), TURIN

(Centro di Ricercha Industriali e Sociali)

THE RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANTS SETTLEMENT IN AN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

Objectives of research plan

C.R.I.S.' objectives were to isolate the economical, psychological and sociological problems connected with the immigration into the Turin area of large groups of people coming from Southern Italy, and, in particular, to point out the problems connected with their settlement in the new community. One of the main problems seemed to be due to the fact that most Southern immigrants come from under-developed agricultural areas and must settle down in an industrial community, adjusting to new economic activities, as well as to different ways of life and social value patterns.

Range of research

The research was carried out in the whole city of Turin (one million inhabitants). The partition of the town in statistical areas and distribution of population in them was taken into account for sampling purposes, in view of setting up the plan for questionnaire interviews to a sample of Southern and Piedmontese families in Turin.

The sample interviews were conducted under this criteria:

(a) Four hundred short interviews at a random sample of Southern families of immigrants, to gather basic quantitative information;

(b) One hundred and forty more detailed interviews, on a random sample of Southern individuals, including, besides the basic information, a qualitative analysis of economic, psychological and social factors, related to the settlement of immigrants and their attitudes towards their new community;

(c) One hundred and twenty detailed interviews to a random sample of Piedmontese individuals, on the same questionnaire used for Southern families and with specific reference to the attitudes towards Southern immigrants.

A series of interviews to representatives of the various professional categories were centred on specific problems, such as school attendance, medical and sanitary situation, hiring and training in industry, efficiency and shortcomings of public services, delinquency, and so on, in order to collect specialised stand-points on particular aspects of immigrants' settlement.

Plan of study

(a) Statistical and demographic data on immigration in Turin (like number of immigrants during the last ten years, regions of origin of immigrants, areas of settlement in the city, etc.)

(b) Data gathered on the field, through various techniques on housing, family composition, structure, roles and values, etc; work activities (level of education, training, safety, previous work experiences, attitudes towards work, aspiration and obstacles to career improvement); social life and structure (relationships outside the family, leisure activities, social stratification and distance, social attitudes and beliefs); social pathology; attitudes towards the place of origin and towards the new community.

A book, containing a full report on the research and its results, will be published soon in Italian.

A partial presentation of the research is published in the proceedings of the Conference on "The settling of immigrants in industrial communities" in "Immigrazione e industria", ed. Comunità; Milano 1962, pp. 165-266.

II. LOMBARD INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES
(ILSES), MILANO

Istituto Lombardo Studi Economici e Sociali

The problem of adjustment of rural manpower to industrial activities is indirectly considered in a research, still going on, on mobility of Milanese industrial manpower in mechanical and building industries. The mobility is examined under all its different aspects: geographical mobility, occupational (turnover), vertical (career and salary improvement).

The incidence of rural manpower and the degree of its adjustment to industrial work will be considered as two variables of the phenomenon of mobility.

NORWAY

The effects of industrialisation upon agriculture, with particular emphasis on part-time farming and decision-making in farming

1. Originally a study was taken up as part of a broad research project on industrialisation to be carried out by the Institute of Sociology at the University of Oslo. This Institute, established in 1949, has considered industrialisation as one of its main interests. For research purposes it has chosen to consider a certain area in Northern Norway - the Rana area - as "an experiment of industrialisation", the background being important attempts by the government to develop new industries in the area. The basic project is the construction of a new steel mill and a large power plant. In demographic terms these developments, commencing in 1946, were expected to cause a raise in the local urban population from 4,000 in 1946 to 12-15,000 around 1960.

Studies, published mainly in the form of graduation theses, have been made on demographic developments, historical aspects, mobility, the ecology of the industrial center and on activities of local associations. By 1950-51 a study was also made on developments in the surrounding agricultural area. A general hypothesis was that the new industries would attract labour from agriculture, and thereby cause changes toward a less labour-intensive farm economy - substitution of labour by capital - whereas the increasing urban population would provide increasing demand for agricultural products and thereby provide a pull from a subsistance-like to a money-economy on farms. Investigations on a random sample of farms indicated, however, that by 1950-51 no significant changes in these directions had come about. The main change consisted in a certain decrease in the agricultural labour force, apparently not affecting the organisation of the other agricultural resources.

2. On the background of these results a follow up study was taken up by 1959-60, attempting to consider more thoroughly the decision-making on farms affected by industrialisation. Since preliminary data indicate that still rather small changes have come about in the organisation of agricultural resources - land and capital - another theoretical approach seems to be called for in explaining the decision-making. As far as proper farm decisions are concerned it would appear as if "utility" considerations rather than "profit" considerations form the basis. Combined with such considerations, concerning the farm proper, seem to be wage considerations in strict money

income terms, so far as employment outside farms is concerned. In a situation with rather small farms, where the farm wife and children may contribute a main part of the labour input necessary to keep the farm going, it would appear as if an increase in the employment opportunities outside the farms for the family head, may serve to conserve the traditional subsistance outlook in pure farm matters. The head of the family, eventually together with adult children, may seek employment for wages, whereas the wife and younger children, assisted by the husband during his time off, take care of the farm, which is maintained for housing, household supply of food, eventually for "hobby" purposes and in general to conserve the way of life to which the family by tradition has been adapted. On the basis of a model combining subsistance farming with employment for wages, an attempt has been made at an empirical investigation to verify the implied hypotheses. By way of extending the point of view towards the "values" and institutional arrangements affecting economic choices, the investigation also attempts at an analysis of certain sociological factors underlying the patterns of economic adaptation.

The first mentioned study has been published under the title: A preliminary study of the impact of industrialisation upon agriculture in the Rana area of Northern Norway, Report No. 5, Institute of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management. The Agricultural College of Norway. Vollebekk 1957, Mimeographed, 147 p.

The other study is finished so far as field work is concerned, and will result in a report in the course of the year. (It should be mentioned that the first study was carried out in co-operation between the Institute of Sociology, the University of Oslo, and the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, Vollebekk. The second study has been supported by the Norwegian Council for General Research, and by the two institutes mentioned above).

Studies similar to those mentioned are taken up by the Division for Rural Sociology at the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, in two different communities in Southern Norway. The one concerns a rural community with one-sided agrarian economy, strongly affected by the movement of young workers out of the community. The other takes up problems of economic and social adaptation on the background of rapid changes caused by heavy investments in power plant constructions in a mountain community.

NETHERLANDS

I. Mr. S. Oorburg,
Scientific co-worker,
Institute of Sociology,
University of Groningen.

THE GENERAL NATURE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

In the Autumn of 1960 a study seminar on adaptation and re-training of the ex-agrarian workers was held in Beetsterzwaag (the Netherlands) under the auspices of the European Productivity Agency. One of the conclusions that have been reached in the discussion in the joint teams of employers, employees and social scientists concerned the urgent need for more research. By surveying the materials extent, the members of the scientific staff of the Sociological Institute of the University of Groningen came to the conviction that priority should be given to a more controlled study that would shed light on the social causes of maladjustment of newly formed industrial workers. Prior to such study there seems to be a patent need for the construction of scales that would enable us to measure the degree of adjustment-maladjustment within the reasonable limits of precision and reliability. The project that we herewith submit to consideration is thus more concerned with testing-out than with a mere listing of hypotheses about the possible social factors in the adjustment process.

THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE STUDY

1. To develop measuring devices that would enable us to assess the maladjustment of workers in the newly created industrial sites. Both patent and latent maladjustment will form the object of this study. The resulting maladjustment-scale should discriminate also between the groups of workers that stayed in the industrial sites but do or do not feel at home or at ease.

2. To find the principal social correlates of maladjustment; one will have to look for the factors that can be operated with, though the basic sociological variables will not be neglected in this study.

3. Finally, a prediction scale is being considered that would enable us to discern in advance those individuals and those types of situations conducive to maladjustment so that the process of transition will pass with less social risks in the future.

METHODS OF THE WORK

After a preliminary orientation (a pilot study) aiming at the discovery of the principal components of maladjustment, a survey of attitudes will take place in two groups of adjusted and maladjusted workers. Uni-dimensional scaling or a factor-analytical design will be used in order to distil appropriate measuring devices out of attitude-questionnaires. The hypotheses will be tested in a semi-experimental research design, probably by matching the adjusted and maladjusted workers in an individual way.

THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH

About 300 interviews will take place in the homes of workers in order to gather the necessary information for the construction of scales and for the selection of matched pairs of respondents. In order to distinguish the problems of transition from the village to the factory from those of the migration, probably two groups of workers will be matched:

(a) those joining the industry in a local agrarian centre; those who stay in the factory and "like it there" will be compared with those going back to the farm or disliking the factory work or industrial way of life;

(b) those moving to a distant industrial centre, once more split up into its adjusted and maladjusted subgroups.

As each matched group should consist of at least some 25 persons there will be some additional hundred of persons to be interviewed.

GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

One of the big firms or corporation in the western parts of the country will be asked to procure addresses of workers for the study of the long-distance adjustment process (the Netherlands' biggest steel-works in Ijmuiden or one of the large ship building firms in Rotterdam are being considered for the research). The transition to the local industries can be efficiently studied in the agrarian province of Groningen (e.g. the Philips factories in Drachten or in Stadskanaal may form a suitable object, in this respect).

ORGANISATION OF THE PROJECT

The study will be carried out by the Sociological Institute of the University in Groningen. Dr. J. Oorburg will take over the function of the project-director. Financial grant has been asked from the Z.W.O. (the Foundation for Basic Research) in order to meet the interview and travel costs.

TIME PLANNING

The project is roughly planned for two years. A considerable time may be saved if a grant is received to employ students for interview and coding work.

II. Mr. M.S. Simons,
Mgr. Zwijsen College.

The transition from farm work to industry is no easy matter, for either individuals or groups.

Where little or no provision has been made for the basic needs of housing, work and recreation, social developments are not likely to be particularly good.

Most publications on the subject in the Netherlands are historical in character.

The best known is the work by P.J. and W.H. Bouman on the population of Rotterdam(1).

From personal testimonies, letters and conversations, the authors collected data concerning the living conditions, and difficulties of adaptation of farm workers migrating to Rotterdam between the years 1880 and 1910.

Their account bears witness to their profound social conscience.

In more recent times, both the government and leaders of industry have become convinced of the necessity for certain elementary welfare provisions, which they are doing their utmost to secure.

Another publication describes the experience of farming families migrating to Eindhoven between 1925 and 1930 to work for the firm of S.A. Philips. This work(1) deals with the problems of the cultural assimilation of a group of internal migrants and their descendants, covering a period of thirty years and covering not less than three generations.

The material needs of the migrants were extremely well cared for. They were provided with well-built cottages, with small gardens front and back and an outhouse; the factory combined high standards of workmanship with up-to-date work lay-outs; recreational facilities were provided to suit particular circumstances.

The following methods were used for analysing and supervising the process of adaptation, or rather of assimilation, of these migrant workers in a society subject to rapid and far-reaching changes:

1. Geographical observations were made, in the district of origin and that of the new home.

2. All families - there were 120 of them - were interviewed; no questionnaire was used, so that there might be a free flow of ideas.

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(1) P.J. Bouman and W.H. Bouman: De groei van de grote werkstad, 2nd Edition, Assen, 1956.

(2) M.S. Simons: Tussen turf en televisie, Bouwstenen voor de kennis der maatschappij 33, Assen, 1960.

Demographic data, supplied by local registries, were collected beforehand. The same survey was repeated with an indigenous control group selected for the purpose.

One person carried out both surveys, in order to ensure the necessary uniformity and accuracy.

3. The statistics were collated so that the data for both groups could be compared on a percentage basis.

4. Where necessary, the author makes some general observations concerning relations between the newcomers and those who had been there for some time, and between all of these and the original residents, between employers and employees and between government officials, churchmen and politicians and the public, congregation or electorate as the case may be.

Research enables us to determine:

- the length of the process of adaptation to industrial work and urban environment;
- any irregularities in this process;
- particular features of the process, and its variants;
- the factors influencing it.

Another separate assignment, though largely complementary to the former, deals with social problems in the industrial development of the Netherlands(1). Four institutes cooperated:

- the Netherlands National Institute of Social Research (ISONEVO)
- the Sociological Institute of the Dutch Reformed Church
- the Catholic Socio-Religious Institute (KASKI)
- the Agronomic Institute (LEI)

The regions in question were afflicted with chronic unemployment; they were threatened with a drift of the working population towards the larger towns. The Government therefore decided in 1952 to offer all sorts of facilities and subsidies to promote industrialisation. The type of industrialisation aimed at was described as "de-concentrated".

Workers were no longer compelled to emigrate; and no more difficulties of assimilation could arise from their movements. This throws into even greater relief the difficulties of assimmilation created by industrialisation in the actual regions. The change in living conditions runs up against obstacles of a social and psychological character.

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(1) De Nederlandse ontwikkelingsgebieden. 's-Gravenhage 1960.

The research was limited in time but covered a very wide area, comprising 14 per cent of total Netherlands territory and practically 6.3 per cent of the population. The various regions were compared and it was found that different stages of development and assimilation had been reached in them. The Government's measures were set against these findings. Amendments were proposed wherever necessary, and suggestions made in case further research was undertaken in the future.

Finally, we must mention P. J. Bouman's recent book on the climate of industry(1). The author describes the sociological and psychological aspects of industrialisation and adds some important observations of his own. The numerous specialists in the matter are invited to pay more attention than hitherto to the essential inter-dependence of social phenomena, they are urged to draft their reports and plan their published works from a more comprehensive standpoint.

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(1) P.J. Bouman: Industrieel klimaat. Bouwstenen voor de kennis der maatschappij 39, Assen 1961.

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Two of the three studies that might be of interest to the group, were described in papers for the Groningen Seminar. One was Dr. Kerstin Wiedling's study of a rapidly growing town in middle Sweden and the other was my own study of how people from an area with a total lack of industrial traditions adapt to an industrial situation. This study is carried out at Kiruna in Swedish Lapland.

The third study is still in the early planning stage. Professor Gunnar Boalt of the Stockholm University has been asked by the Swedish Ministry of Labour to make a study of the difficulties that arise when people are stimulated to move from an area with a surplus of labour to an area with a lack of labour. During the last few years a very active labour market policy, including subsidies, meant to make labour mobility easier, has been developed by the authorities and there is a strong interest to see how the system has worked out so far.

The study in the mining town of Kiruna is now in the analysis stage. Interviews with 334 persons and supplementary data collection were made during the Winter, a preliminary report concentrating on the overall picture of employee attitudes has been prepared and will be presented during the Autumn.

Some preliminary results might be of interest as they show a strong difference in attitudes between people born on Kiruna's countryside and people born in the town. The preliminary character of the figures must be stressed, though, as we are pretty sure that there exists intervening variables of importance.

APPENDIX 3

Project I

"Inventory of research projects and measures, which are concerned with the problem of adaptation and training (transformation) of rural workers - Problems and tasks, categories, methods".

Problems and tasks

Migration (and in consequence adaptation and training) of rural workers is in most European countries an important social problem. In particular since the end of the war many people have moved from the countryside to the cities and have thus responded to the attraction of the better employment chances. Important changes in the countryside as well as in the urban centres were caused thereby. Many people continue to live in the country while working in the towns.

Commuting has become increasingly important. In many rural areas industries and commerce have appeared and attracted rural workers. The problem of transformation, adaptation and training of rural workers is thus a part of the structural change of rural areas and of the adaptation of these regions to industrial society. The difficulties of this adaptation process exist in any case, whether the people follow industry into the conurbations or whether industry comes to the people in the countryside. The problem of adaptation is not only an individual one (adaptation, training, dwelling), it is also a regional problem (industrialisation, infrastructure).

According to the concepts of most European governments and parliaments this process should go on as smoothly as possible. The interests of the people concerned should be of paramount importance. The adaptation of rural people to industrial establishments, industrial "climate" and urban conditions is difficult. Training and instruction of workers, who have so far had an agricultural employment, are equally strenuous and demanding for teachers and those to be taught.

Governments and supra-national bodies have a great social responsibility in this context. There are numerous measures of governments in various European countries which are concerned as well with the individual persons and their families as well as with the regions and which are supposed to facilitate adaptation and training of rural people. The difficulties of adapting oneself in an industrial establishment, those of adapting as a family to the new dwelling and living situation, the questions of re-training in and outside the factory, the manysided problems of commuting, the industrialisation of rural areas and the improvement of rural infrastructure are dealt with by administrations and research institutions.

The seminars of the O.E.E.C. (E.P.A.) resp. the O.E.C.D. at Groningen and Paris have shown, that the transformation of rural workers differs greatly from country to country. Accordingly the measures of governments in the various countries, research projects and research methods differ, too. There is so far a lack of an over-all survey of

- national particularities and European conformities of transformation, adaptation and training,
- the measures adopted in the different countries for facilitating and influencing this process, and
- the different research projects and research methods.

Because this transformation process is an European problem also by virtue of an increasing co-operation of the national economies of Europe and because such migrations are increasingly taking place on an European scale it is necessary to undertake such a study. It is necessary also, because from such a comparison many stimulations can follow. A close co-operation of research and practical policies should be furthered by a comparative presentation of problems and methods, too.

Main questions

Such a comparison should give information on the following items:

- State of the situation, problems of migration, labour potential, mobility, retarding and furthering factors with respect to mobility, motivations, conglomeration, commuting;
- pre-conditions and possibilities of transformations (by way of structural analysis of the regions concerned), possibilities of construction of places of work resp. employment possibilities, forms and possibilities of re-training and instruction, forms and possibilities of professional adaptation, industrialisation of rural areas, infra-structure.
- problems of social and cultural adaptation, vertical and horizontal mobility, adaptation to a new milieu, problems of social policy and social anthropology.

This snyoptic presentation should constitute the background for a presentation (a) of the different measures of the governments on the various fields concerned, their motives, aims and successes, and (b) of the various research projects finished or in progress, including the methods employed.

The final chapter should be a comparative summarising report on the transformation process of the whole area investigated, to which a comparative description of government measures and their successes and of research projects and methods should be added.

Method

The following method should be used for this study:

1. Collecting, reading, grouping and utilizing the literature concerned;

2. Questioning of the following central administrations: agriculture, economic affairs, labour and social policy, education. Questioning of the following authorities: planning, regional planning, labour exchange;

3. Talks with representatives of trade unions, employers, national chambers of industry and commerce, central chambers of agriculture, central organisations of municipalities.

Technical procedure

The study will afford one year. For each of the ten Countries four weeks will be necessary, including the respective portion of the summarising chapter. Fourteen days should be used for questioning and talks, one week for grouping and elaborating the materials and one week for the writing of the national report.

Proposal of the German group

Göttingen, 24th April, 1962.

APPENDIX 4

Project II

Proposal for International Research on Adaptation and Vocational, Social and Cultural Training on the Intra-European Migration of Rural Workers Employed in Industry

by Elie DIMITRAS

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Proposal for international research

I. Reasons for research
  A. Interest of the research
  B. Practical utility of the research

II. Proposal for research
  A. Aim of the research
  B. Relevant data
  C. Appropriate methods and techniques
  D. Research arrangements

I. Reasons for research: Interest and utility of the research

A. Interest of the research

The target for a 50 per cent growth in the gross national. product of the O.E.C.D. Member countries in the next ten years implies an increase in general employment and more especially in the already highly industrialised European countries and regions.

It is possible to provide for this increase in industrial employment by the movement of rural manpower and of industry:

- by occupational and/or geographical migration inside each country (internal migration);
- by intra-European migration;
- by intercontinental migration (Africans or Asiatics attracted to Europe).

In this connection, the recent experience of employment expansion in the E.E.C. is fairly conclusive:

In spite of the surplus rural manpower available in the industrialised countries of the E.E.C., it has not been possible to recruit enough people to supply all the personnel needed for these countries' own industries.

The shortage of workers has been largely overcome by recruiting rural manpower in the less developed countries of Europe, the rural workers in these countries being much more mobile than the rural workers in the industrialised countries.

Recourse was even had to the manpower of countries in Africa and Asia, a forerunner of a forthcoming and more massive African and Asiatic migration to Europe.

Present experience gives grounds for the belief that, in the next two years, the internal migration of rural workers will be outstripped by intra-European migration. In any case, this will gradually give way to considerable African and Asiatic migration to Europe.

In fact, increasing income in the O.E.C.D. Member countries and other developments will lead to an increase in employment in the European emigration countries and, towards 1970-75, even to full employment in Italy. The result will probably be the return of intra-European migrants to their now expanding country of origin and, certainly in the longer term, to the almost complete cessation of mass intra-European migration. In this context, Africans and Asiatics already present on the European labour market will fill employment vacancies thus created to a much greater extent.

It is certain that intra-European migration of rural workers now and for the next ten years outweighs internal migration and the migration of Africans and Asiatics to Europe. Governments, the European economic communities, intergovernmental organisations and research institutes or independent research workers will have to keep continuously in touch with this major social and economic fact.

The human aspects of these migrations, and, especially, of the adaptation and training of intra-European migrant rural workers needed by industry, are as yet only partly known. As, moreover, the studies already carried out by institutes or national research workers are unfortunately not very comparable with regard to concepts, methods and results, the use and application of the results of this research to define a consistent policy for the countries concerned can only suffer.

This state of affairs is due to the absence of a general plan and lack of co-ordination of research now being done according to a somewhat haphazard programme, no prior meeting of the research workers concerned for purposes of comparison, and no encouragement from an international organisation which could centralise the work and its results and establish satisfactory contacts with the interested parties.

Wishing to see these gaps in research filled and thus to produce conclusions that could guide Member country policies in the matter, the research workers meeting at the O.E.C.D. from 22nd to 26th January, 1962, after a statement by the Delegate for Greece, emphasized the need for co-ordinated and comparable research by a group of countries on the adaptation and industrial training of intra-European migrant rural workers.

To prepare the joint study on the various aspects involved, the research workers invited the author to outline a proposal for co-ordinated research between several countries.

The proposal will be submitted to participants at the last meeting on the project for the co-ordination of research, launched by the former E.P.A. (8/07 A), which is due to take place on 22nd and 23rd May, 1962.

The result will probably be a research plan likely to be recommended by the O.E.C.D. for its future programme.

B. Practical utility of the research

This research could in fact give results of definite practical use.

1. If the conditions and processes of adaptation or maladjustment in the specific sphere of intra-European migration were well known, the interested parties in the emigration and immigration countries (Governments, administrators, employers, workers, welfare assistants, etc.) would be able to review their migration policies in a better light. For example, research would show which groups of migrants adapted best to which trade and which social environment; how the adaptation of other such groups could be improved; and what are the causes and consequently the remedies to absenteeism, instability and social tensions observed among migrants. Application of the results of the research would also make it possible to reduce the human and economic cost of intra-European migration and thus increase the economic and technical value of the migrants and eliminate the social threat to the environments of departure and arrival, as well as to the migrants themselves, a development that might well compromise the integration of Europe and that continent's optimum use of human resources, thus calling in question the attainment of the increased gross national product planned for the O.E.C.D. Member countries.

It should be noted, however, that even the limited amount of research now being done would give reason to believe that it is not always just improvement of the material conditions of existence that influences the migrants' vocational and social adaptation, but better propaganda and, above all, a redeployment of manpower more in keeping with the special features of their social personality, collective culture and aspirations; such transfers may often only cost those responsible (administrators, employers, etc.) the trouble of taking human factors into account and of acting in consequence.

2. Besides its immediate utility, this research would be of more general and long-lasting practical interest.

The experience gained in launching co-ordinated international research, the concepts and methods involved, the theoretical and practical results and their particular applications, would all be assets to users and research workers alike when facing some of the difficulties involved in African and Asiatic migration to Europe but which are common to intra-European migration.

Special research on the particular question of the adaptation of African and Asiatic migrants in Europe could later be carried out more smoothly by taking advantage of what had been learnt from research on intra-European migration.

II. Proposal for research

The main lines of this proposal are given here for guidance:

A. Aim of the research

B. Relevant data

C. Appropriate methods and techniques

D. Research arrangements

A. Aim

To study the adaptation of men from a rural background in contact with an industrial environment is to study a process of change. This change is particularly far-reaching in the case of intra-European migration, which usually occurs between environments separated by great social, cultural and technological distances. Adaptation here may be considered as a subject for privileged scientific observation (almost an experiment) capable of increasing the limited amount already known about change in general and, in particular, about social change due to the integration and development of Europe.

B. Relevant data

The following two studies would be necessary before research could do this:

(a) a demographic analysis of European migatory currents, necessary for better definition of the target of research;

(b) an analysis of departure, arrival and return environments to reveal the social and cultural distances to be covered by adaptation.

These preliminary analyses would make it possible to study all the factors involved in the intra-European migrant's adaptation and by which it can be measured and its processes discovered.

These factors are:

(i) The migrant

(ii) The arrival environment

(iii) The departure environment

(i) The migrant

The social personality of the migrant is entirely committed by the decision to migrate. It would thus be important to understand this personality and to follow it through all the successive phases of migration so as to determine the factors and processes of its adaptation.

The following would have to be given particular attention:

(a) origins and motivations of the migrant;

(b) his preparation and departure;

(c) his arrival and stay abroad:

- vocational development and training
- lodgings; family life
- social life; leisure
- ties with the original environment
- intentions for the future

(d) return (for temporary migrants)

- return to rural life or not
- vocational development
- social and economic behaviour

(ii) The arrival environment

The arrival environment is a factor and at the same time the "measure" of adaptation owing to its attitude to strangers and its reactions to their behaviour. In its turn, this environment undergoes its own adaptation to co-existence with the migrants.

This environment should be studied:

(a) before the migrants arrive

- dislike of or liking for strangers
- expectations; preparation;

(b) after the migrants arrive

- actual welcome at work and outside
- reactions to the migrants' behaviour:

  by employers
  by native workers; by trade unions
  by other social groups
  by the authorities

- adaptation to co-existence with the migrants
- intermingling of populations;

(c) when the migrants leave

- final departure; rotation
- favourable and unfavourable reaction.

(iii) The departure environment

Owing to its hold over the migrant before departure, this environment continues to influence conduct and the degree of adaptation even during the stay abroad. This hold is again strongly felt by the migrant once he has returned to his country, but he then has to make a compromise between this influence and that of the foreign environment, some social, cultural and occupational aspects of which he will of course bring back with him. Will this compromise prove to be one of the instruments for the social and cultural integration of Europe?

The hold should be studied:

(a) before the migrant leaves

- migration as a "collective" step
- the migrant's "success" as defined by his departure background
- information on migration and its organisation;

(b) during his stay abroad the migrant's behaviour in terms of:

- his future prospects in his home country
- his future prospects on returning home
- the social background provided by the home country

(c) on the migrant's return

- readaptation required by the return environment
- resistance of social, cultural and vocational factors imported from abroad
- elimination of these factors; the migrant's maladjustment, followed by a new departure
- social and cultural integration of populations
- temporary migration as a form of vocational, social and cultural training for surplus manpower in the under-developed European (and, by extension, African and Asian) countries.

C. Appropriate methods and techniques

The complexity of the information to be collected, the diversity and size of the social and national groups involved, the amount of research to be done in face of the overriding need to achieve comparable results of some practical and immediate value, all call for many different research media and methods.

Whatever the techniques used, however, they must supply the material needed to interpret adaptation in intra-European migration dynamically.

In this way:

1. It would be possible to make a synthesis of existing studies and statistical material for the preliminary demographic analysis mentioned in B.(a).

2. It would be best to base the analysis of social environments mentioned in B.(b) on the studies and documentary material available. This could be amplified later by data from the research planned.

With regard to the research itself:

(a) As the scope for applying this research is territorially very vast and the groups studied numerically very great, a sample survey would be a relatively cheap way of gathering material to cover practically the entire subject.

(b) A sample survey might, however, let slip individual but nevertheless important cases. On the other hand, the sample might itself bring to light other cases worth studying in greater detail. Case studies or other appropriate media could be used for considering cases parallel or subsequent to the survey.

(c) Sample surveys, accompanied by case studies, would not alone be sufficient to provide a continuous picture of the process of adaptation and general change in the groups concerned. It would also be necessary to employ the pilot group method in order to follow the process in the dimension of time:

to choose a few typical groups of migrants from various emigration countries and send them to typical environments in the various immigration countries. By observing these groups closely:

- in all the successive phases of departure, arrival and return;
- from the three points of view of the migrant, the arrival environment and the departure environment;
- during at least one year, an original and difficult sociological experiment could be carried out but which nevertheless would be promising from the point of view of worthwhile scientific and practical results.

D. Research arrangements

Research of this kind needs a lot of organising and the following rough plan can only enumerate its general points:

1. An inter-governmental organisation, O.E.C.D. for example (alone or in consultation with other international bodies such as the E.E.C., I.L.O., F.A.O., UNESCO, etc.), would draw the attention of governments, ministerial departments, employers' associations, trade unions and rural authorities to the project, as well as independent institutions or research workers in the countries affected by intra-European migration.

2. Once this interest was aroused, a central Working Party could be formed, grouping representatives of the organisations and circles mentioned above; the central Working Party should depend on national Working Parties of similar composition.

3. Representatives of research institutions would be the mainstays of the central and national Working Parties; they would be the rapporteurs and should have a certain freedom of action on the scientific level, although always within the context laid down by the project in its final form.

The other representatives would have to explain to the research workers the special practical difficulties which they were facing and for which they would like to find solutions through research. These representatives would also have to help to make the research a success by closely associating the circles they represented in the project. Finally, they would have to give the widest publicity to the results of the research and to their application.

The national Joint Committees for the Application of the Human Sciences to Industry (set up in the various countries on the initiative of the former European Productivity Agency) would probably be the type of group to take on this special task. The scientific part might also be taken on by some institute or research society of international standing, which would play the role of a committee of experts inside each working party. The European Society for Rural Sociology might perhaps be suitable for this.

The results obtained by research, together with practical recommendations, should be immediately communicated by the national Working Parties, and in particular by their members who are not scientists, to all those who might possibly make use of them. These members would also have to encourage the application of the conclusions of the research, but even then the parties interested would need further advice from the experts. During application, in any event, new difficulties would arise that should be studied jointly by both users and research workers. As it is very difficult to apply the results of research, with new items of information coming to light for users and research workers alike, all those taking part in this research should follow the practical progress made or at least keep themselves informed. The importance of following the practical application is another reason for linking the machinery set up for this purpose with permanent agencies such as the "Joint Committees for the Application of the Human Sciences to Industry" or institutes and research societies of international standing.

APPENDIX 5

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